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# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 74.]

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[Vol. iv. No. 2.

## I. RECENT MEETINGS FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY:—

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## II. ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

## III. DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES.

### 1.—NOTICES OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

THE public Meetings that have been held throughout the kingdom during the last two or three months, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the Abolition of Slavery, have been numerous and important beyond all former example. We propose to take in the present Number a general survey of these interesting assemblies; and although it is not possible to detail, with any degree of minuteness, the proceedings of any one of them, or even to attempt an abstract of the topics discussed, we think it will nevertheless be highly satisfactory to our readers to see a connected, though very cursory review of the simultaneous exertions made by our fellow-subjects in aid of our great cause, at this eventful conjuncture.

#### 1. EDINBURGH.

On the 8th of October, a numerous and highly respectable meeting of the friends of Abolition was held at Edinburgh, in the Great Assembly Room, George Street. The Lord Provost, W. Allan, Esq. having taken the chair, and opened the meeting with a short address, the celebrated Mr. Francis Jeffrey (now Lord Advocate of Scotland,) moved certain resolutions which had been prepared by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society, expressive of their sense of the evils and miseries necessarily attendant on the system of Negro Slavery, and their con-

viction that there ought to be no further delay in taking measures for its final and total abolition; and that, in the meantime, such means ought to be adopted for mitigating its evils, and for such instruction and improvement in the condition of the Slaves, as might be best calculated ultimately to fit them for the blessings of freedom. Mr. Jeffrey entered into a long and luminous review of the various efforts that had been made in this country for the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, from the earliest agitation of these great questions to the present period; but this historical summary, though distinguished by comprehensive views and accuracy of detail, we must necessarily pass over. After adverting to the insolent contumacy of the Chartered Colonies, in rejecting the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1823, and the unsatisfactory character even of the reforms that had been introduced into the Crown Colonies, so that generally speaking the Slaves in the West Indies were not a whit better in their condition than in 1792, he clearly demonstrated that, except by the authoritative interposition of the British Parliament, there was no hope whatever of the abolition of Negro bondage, or even of any material mitigation of its worst horrors. Now then, he urged, was the time to appeal to this authority, when we were in the beginning of a new reign, and with the prospect of the immediate convocation of a new Parliament, with a number of new members fresh from the contact of their constituents, and to ask if a case had not been made out calling for its interference. If the friends of abolition were earnest, they had been at least long suffering; and now was the time to come forward and express their opinions, and not to slacken in their efforts until they should obtain the ultimate triumph—the extinction of Slavery itself—(Applause.) Mr. Jeffrey then adverted to the various pretexts which had been urged by those who still resisted the abolition of the foul system of slavery, and ridiculed the threats of revolt made by some of the colonists, whose throats, he said, were only preserved from the knives of the bondmen driven to desperation, by the bayonets which we paid for, and which assisted them to uphold a monopoly to our prejudice. They defied and insulted the Parliament of Great Britain, when they pretended that it had no right to look into their affairs; and they blasphemously quoted Scripture texts as an authority for slavery. They offered two arguments against emancipation:—First, that the slaves were their own property, and they might do with them what they liked; and secondly, that they had treated them well; and that they were contented and happy, and better off than if they were free. If they could fairly make out the first position, then he would agree that they should be reimbursed for their property; but he did not think that they could make out a fair claim of property in them. He then referred to various decisions in the Courts both of England and Scotland, where it had been ruled that man had no right of property in man. God had given man a right of property over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air; but had he given him a right of property over his fellow men?—(Applause.) If the slave was the property of his master, why did the property not continue when he brought him to this country? If he was his property, like other live stock, then, why might he not kill him

and eat him? If he was his property at all, he must be so out and out. But the master, it seems, holds a right of property in every thing but his life; and therefore the principle failed in practice by this one admission. This right of property was all for the benefit of the one and the injury of the other, since all that rendered life worthy of keeping was extorted by the one and lost by the other—(Cheers.) But the masters said their slaves were happy and comfortable as they were; and that to liberate would be to injure and not to benefit them. If this were true, no one had a right to interfere. He accepted the proposition, but defied them to the proof. His answer was, if that be true, ~~they~~, the slaveholders, had no interest in maintaining slavery. They said they were better fed, better lodged, and better taught than the lower classes in this country or any country in the world. It might be so, but the unhappy bondmen did not think so; and why would their masters persist in conferring benefits on them which they did not prize? Why lavish benefits on so thankless a generation?—(Hear, hear.) But how could all this be reconciled with the anxiety to keep them in a state of bondage? The reason was, that by doing so they got, as they imagined, more work out of them than they could get from free labourers. There were two infallible tests to refer to in proof of the evils of slavery; the one was the continued decrease in the slave population of the West Indies, and the other the amount of punishments for crime among them. The slave population, within the last thirty or forty years, had decreased in an alarming proportion, while the free blacks had gone on multiplying, and had nearly doubled their numbers in less than forty years. The increase of crime, too, was to be ascribed to the abject misery of the slave population. From the records in these islands, it appeared that, in ninety-nine cases of crime out of a hundred, it was to be ascribed to the evils of slavery alone. The learned Gentleman then combated the argument, that the slave in the West Indies was better off than the labourers of this country, and enumerated the various advantages possessed by the latter over the former. The slave, he observed, had no power of choosing his master or his work, or changing either of them. He was at the absolute command of his master, and must do the work appointed by him. He had no power even to keep his master if he liked him, for he was liable to be sold to a strange master, who might alter his course of work at pleasure. He had no voice in the matter. He was even liable to be sold to pay his master's debts—to be separated from the members of his own family—he might be sent away, and was in fact, frequently separated, from his child, or from his wife. The work required of them too was far more oppressive than any that was voluntarily performed by the poorest manufacturer in Lancashire labouring for his own offspring—(Cheers.) Their average hours of labour were 15 or 16 out of the 24. And in addition to this, when they considered the fact that they were *driven* at their work by the lash of the cart-whip, a single application of which cut through the skin, and if repeated, lacerated the flesh, what audacity was it to tell us that they were contented and happy, and better off than the common labourers of this country!—(Loud applause). Yet this terrible lash was the

necessary accompaniment of their field work, to which they were driven by it; the power of the master or overseer in inflicting it (blasphemously parodying the Scripture,) being limited to thirty-nine lashes;—and these forty stripes save one, the master or overseer might inflict at his own pleasure, and without challenge. It was impossible to suppose that human nature was proof against the temptation to abuse a power like this. In this country, again, for the poorest classes a school was open where they might be taught letters and morality, and for every soul of them a minister was provided at the public expense, to instruct them in religion. Were the negroes better off in this respect?—No! It had been the policy of their masters to keep them in brutal ignorance. They had studiously endeavoured to exclude Christian missionaries from the colonies; chapels and meeting-houses had been pulled down and razed, and even the persons of the ministers invaded and tortured to the death—(Applause.) As a proof that it was the set purpose of West India proprietors to put down all attempts to instruct the negroes, he referred to their refusal to appoint any other day than Sunday for holding their markets. In consequence of another recent enactment, no negro was allowed to attend worship at all, between the setting and rising of the sun; and as they must work from the rising to the setting of that luminary, it was evident that they had no time for worship at all,—for on Sunday they must cultivate their provision grounds. It was the duty of every man who had been taught to look his fellow-creature in the face to exert himself to put an end to this hapless slavery; and he trusted he had said enough to satisfy all who heard him that slavery was an abominable curse and crime, and that the only cure for the evils which he had enumerated was emancipation. He contended that every pretence which had been made for perpetuating slavery was false and groundless. They were told that if they emancipated the slaves, they would cut their masters' throats, and would cut each others' throats. He would answer the slaveholders by saying—They have been in your hands since 1806, and if they were then brutally ignorant, you have left them so. If they are vicious or immoral, have not you permitted or encouraged it by your remissness or your example? If they are revengeful, have not you excited the feeling by the wrongs you have done them? If they are unwilling to work, who but yourselves have taught them to associate industry with feelings of degradation?—(Loud applause.) He contended that any danger from emancipation was almost or entirely obviated since the abolition of the slave trade; as there were now no fresh importations of men smarting under the feelings of being torn from their friends, or the remembrance of the happy scenes of their youth. The West India slaves were now all trained to painful industry, and even accustomed to do some work voluntarily for their own behoof. What danger or difficulty would there be, in now doing what the Government of this country had, thirty-eight years ago, by the mouth of Lord Melville, declared might be accomplished in eight years from that date?—(Hear! hear! hear!) What paltry sophistry could be brought forward against a resolution, that from the 1st of January 1831, all negro children born in the West Indies should be free?—(Loud cheers.) The young

race would then every year afford a strong pledge for the good conduct of their parents; and he believed that eventually the loss to the masters would be nothing.—Mr. Jeffrey concluded a speech of more than two hours in delivery, (of the impressive eloquence of which this slight abstract can convey but a faint idea,) by moving a series of resolutions, on which it was proposed to found a petition to Parliament, praying for the abolition of negro slavery at the earliest practicable period; and that all negro children born after the 1st of January 1831, should be free. The learned Dean\* sat down amid loud cheering.

The Rev. Dr. John Ritchie seconded the resolutions, and in the course of an energetic speech, mentioned that he had recently had the high honour of putting his hand to a similar petition, as representative of a court consisting of 300 ministers, conveying to Parliament the sentiments of the church with which he was connected, and of all its members, in this great and good cause.†

The Rev. Dr. A. Thomson next addressed the meeting in a very powerful speech. He praised the proposed resolutions as excellent, so far as they went, but objected to them as not going far enough. He thought the word "*immediately*" ought to be inserted in lieu of "*the earliest practicable period*,"—the latter being, in his opinion, an expression which the enemies of emancipation would eagerly grasp at, in order to delay abolition to an indefinite future period; for with them the *earliest practicable period* would always be in the future tense. The word "*immediately*" was, therefore, he contended, absolutely necessary. He would beg this assembly to look to the history of this question. What had it been, in regard to the philanthropists of this country, but a history of vain and abortive, though generous, attempts to put down slavery? What, in regard to the Government, but a history of affected or mistaken confidence in Colonial Legislatures and West India planters—a confidence which had been abused as often as reposed in them? What in respect to the Christian people of this country, but a history of sad disappointment and delusion?—What as regarded the West India legislators, but a history of hollow professions, deceitful promises, rebellious doings, principles and maxims which, if adopted, would go to put off altogether, and for ever, the consummation so devoutly to be wished, the deliverance of 800,000 individuals from all the evils and miseries of West Indian bondage?—(Loud applause.) Without entering into the details of that history, he trusted all present would be convinced, that if they did not go farther than was proposed by the resolutions, they would be compromising the eternal principles of justice, and putting in their place maxims of expediency, arrangements of pounds, shillings, and pence, and imaginary

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\* Mr. Jeffrey was then Dean of the Faculty of Advocates.

† Dr. Ritchie presided as Moderator of the Synod of the Associate Secession Church, at its last meeting in September, when a petition to Parliament for the early and total abolition of Slavery was unanimously agreed upon by that venerable body, in their collective capacity; and congregational petitions were, at the same time, urgently recommended to be sent up by all the churches under their charge.

apprehensions, in opposition to the claims of religion and justice, and the dearest rights of men—(Applause). If they argued about expediency, that was a point on which the slaveholders would willingly meet them. They would be glad to divert them from the principle, and battle with them about expediency. He trusted the country would not tolerate this for one moment. The slaveholders endeavoured to divert us from the idea of immediate abolition by expatiating on the evil consequences of such a measure. They talked of the bloodshed and massacre which would ensue, and the brutal treatment they might expect from their emancipated slaves; and yet they tell us that their slaves are as comfortable and happy as the people of this country. If that be the case, let us take them at their word, and where will be the danger of emancipation? Were the slaves to resent injuries they had never suffered, or revenge wrongs that had never been inflicted? The argument, in fact, was a mere bugbear. They were afraid, they pretended, of the risk of bloodshed. He would deprecate as much as any man the shedding of blood; but he would rather that some blood was shed, *if necessary*, than that 800,000 individuals should remain for ever in the hopeless bondage of West India slavery, which was an infinitely greater evil than all that could be suffered by their opponents. There was no comparison between the two evils, if we must have one—(Great applause.) But then, we were told that the slaves were *not prepared* for immediate emancipation. If this was the case, he would say, with the Learned Dean of Faculty, the fault was their masters'. They had known for a long series of years the feelings of the British nation, and the intention of the legislature; and why were they not prepared? Just because they defied the legislature, and did not wish them prepared. If any evils were really to be apprehended, it was a duty of the legislature to enact such other contemporaneous measures as would provide against these evils, and accomplish the security of both masters and slaves. He held that at whatever period the legislature should enact the abolition of slavery, their duty would only be half done, if they did not, as far as in them lay, do every thing to promote the temporal welfare as well as the spiritual and eternal interest of the slaves whom they emancipated. Nothing would be more easy than to make such provisions, and to guard against evils which might arise from the enactment. It was the opinion of every man that religious instruction was the best mode of preparing the slaves for freedom; but he would ask what had been done in this respect? The slaveholders professed to allow religious instruction, but their arrangements made it physically impossible for the slave to get what they pretended to give; and the inference he drew from this was, that they were unwilling that the slaves should be prepared for emancipation. Dr. T. objected to another point in the resolutions—that which proposed to secure emancipation by declaring all the negro children, after a certain date, to be born free. He thought it was indirectly sanctioning the principle that those born before that period were lawfully kept in bondage. He suggested other objections also at some length to this proposition. On the whole view of the case, he thought the meeting would not do justice to their own feelings—to the slaves, or to the country—unless they went forward



and told the legislature that they must have *immediate* emancipation. They were a free and enlightened christian people, and could judge of a case like this as well as any legislature on the face of the earth—(Loud cheers). He would not recommend any violation of the constitution, or advocate the cause of anarchy; but he would say that they ought to tell the legislature plainly and strongly, that no man had a title to property in man; and that there were 800,000 individuals sighing in bondage under the intolerable evils of West India slavery, who had as good a title to be free as they had; that they *ought* to be free, and that they *must* be made free—(Loud cheering). He was satisfied that, if they went forward with a petition of this kind, they would let not only the legislature see, but the West India interest (which he was sorry to say was a great deal too strong) see that they were no more to be bamboozled or put off any longer in this great claim of humanity and justice—(Cheers.) The Rev. Doctor concluded by saying that he did not wish to divide the meeting by proposing any amendment to the resolutions; but merely rose to state his sentiments on the subject. There was a loud cry, however, in different quarters of ‘move, move,’ and Dr. Thomson accordingly moved as an amendment, that the word *immediately* should be inserted, and the proposition regarding children, expunged.

This amendment having been seconded, an animated discussion ensued, in which Mr. James Simpson, advocate, Mr. Wilson, a planter from Trinidad, and the Lord Provost, warmly opposed Dr. Thomson. Dr. T. stoutly defended his positions; and the gentleman who had seconded his amendment supported him in a speech, which he concluded with the well-known Latin adage, ‘*Fiat justitia ruat cælum*,’ ‘Let us do justice, be the consequence what it may.’ Upon this, the Lord Provost arose, and left the chair, declaring that he could not, in his capacity of chief magistrate of Edinburgh, countenance a meeting where such sentiments were applauded.

This abrupt and uncalled for abandonment of the chair, which no one present could be induced to occupy in his stead, and some discrepancy of sentiment on the question of gradual or immediate emancipation, between a certain portion of the managing committee and the majority who sided with Dr. T., led necessarily to an adjournment of the meeting. A vote of thanks to the Anti-Slavery Committee and a unanimous declaration that no discourtesy was intended towards the Lord Provost, were however first unanimously adopted; and a resolution passed by acclamation, that another meeting should be speedily held in the same place, to support an energetic petition to Parliament for the total and immediate abolition of Negro Slavery.

## 2. SECOND MEETING AT EDINBURGH.

On the 19th of October, a second meeting of the friends of Negro emancipation was held at Edinburgh. An able and well-conducted newspaper (*The Scotsman*,) describes it as being one of the largest and most respectable meetings ever assembled in that intellectual city. The Great Assembly Room, in which it was held, was crowded to overflowing. The audience, consisting almost exclusively of the well-

educated and most intelligent ranks of society, amounted to not less than 1,200 persons. A petition to the legislature, on the principle of *immediate emancipation*, was moved by Dr. Thomson, "and supported" (says the Scotsman,) "by an address, which for clearness of statement, bold and masterly argument, and an eloquence that kept the feelings engaged in the conclusions arrived at by the judgment we have never heard surpassed." As this able speech has been since printed, and may be had on application at 18, Aldermanbury, we need not here attempt any analysis of it. It deserves, and we trust will obtain, a very extensive circulation throughout the country.

At this meeting, which was conducted with the most perfect decorum and unanimity of sentiment, the chair was occupied (in the absence of Lord Moncrief, the president,) by John More, Esq. advocate; and the principal speakers, besides Dr. Thomson, were the Rev. James Buchanan, Rev. Mr. McLean, of Leith, Dr. John Ritchie, Rev. J. Haldane, Dr. Grenville, and Mr. William Ritchie. At the close of the proceedings, the formation of a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, (the first, we believe, in Scotland,) was announced, comprising amongst its members many ladies eminent in rank, and distinguished for intelligence and active benevolence.

The petition adopted at this meeting was subsequently signed by upwards of 22,000 respectable inhabitants; and has been since forwarded for presentation to the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor Brougham, and to the Commons by Sir T. Denman. The substance of its prayer is comprised in the following clauses:—

"That the voice of a disappointed and impatient nation now calls loudly for some prompt and comprehensive measure to redress the bondman's wrongs; and that your petitioners, as a part of that nation, can now no longer repress the full and earnest expression of their conviction, that man cannot hold property in man; that slavery is a violation of the principles of natural right, and of the laws of revealed religion; that it involves severities on the part of the slaveholder, and sufferings on the part of the slave, which no laws can prevent; that to keep up by taxation a system so essentially iniquitous, ought to be felt as an intolerable burden, both by the legislature and the people: that all attempts at palliative and preparatory measures, while the unjust and immoral principle of the system remains, must be delusive, and have hitherto only mocked the sufferings of the slave, riveted the prejudices, and consolidated the opposition of the slaveholder, and left upon the nation the unmitigated guilt of these flagrant wrongs: and that nothing less can satisfy the demands of eternal justice, than the full and absolute termination of the evil.

"That your petitioners therefore do approach your most Honourable House, not only with a deep feeling of compassion for 800,000 oppressed and suffering slaves, but under the heavier pressure of a conscience burdened with the guilt of participation in the iniquitous oppression; and with all the energy with which a petitioning people can respectfully urge a representative legislature, do implore your most Honourable House in its wisdom to adopt effectual measures for the immediate and total abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies of the Empire.

"And that, at the same time, your petitioners, equally anxious for the safety and improvement of the black population, and for the securing to the white inhabitants the uninjured and peaceful enjoyment of their legitimate possessions, do also petition your most Honourable House, contemporaneously with the decree for the abolition of Slavery, to make such provisional enactments as shall be necessary or expedient, for protecting the white population, if their safety shall

appear to be endangered—for promoting the temporal welfare and moral improvement of the negroes, and in general for securing the interests of all parties who may be affected by the great measure of emancipation."

### 3. PERTH.

We shall notice the other principal Anti-Slavery meetings that have recently taken place in Scotland, before we turn to the other quarters of the United Kingdom.

On the 13th of October a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Perth was held in one of the churches of that city. The chair was taken by J. Meliss Nairne, Esq. of Dunsinane; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. W. A. Thomson, Rev. Dr. Pringle, Rev. Messrs. Young, Newlands, Jamieson, R. Thomson, Mr. James McLaren, and by Mr. Alston; a native of the West Indies, now resident in Perth. Several of the speeches were very impressive, and all of them evinced much acquaintance with the history and effects of slavery. "West Indian slavery," said the Rev. Robert Thomson, "is a system which gives to one man arbitrary power over the person and goods and family of his fellow and his brother;—it is that which degrades an immortal being to a level with his beast of burden, and ignominiously associates a living spirit with his goods and chattels;—it is that which denounces, denies, or obstructs the sacred rite of matrimony; or, where this blessed union has been effected, assumes to itself the right of cutting the knot which God's own finger had tied, and unceremoniously and barbarously separates the wife from the husband, and even the mother from her child;—it is that which places the person of the slave entirely under the absolute control of vicious masters, or their agents; which control is often used for the corrupting of the young, and the polluting of the most hallowed relations of life;—it is that which refuses to man the day of rest, which God designed for the very beast;—it is that which sanctions the use of the cart-whip, and the flogging of females *indecently*;—it is that which allows to be perpetrated with impunity enormities too odious and obscene even to be named. And this complicated system of black iniquity and intolerable oppression is supported, and defended, and continued from generation to generation, by this free and Christian nation,—darkening our history and degrading our character, and weighing us down with the guilt of blood, until 'earth is sick and heaven is weary' of our national wickedness."

The resolutions passed at this meeting expressed "their unalterable determination to leave no lawful means unattempted for bringing about, by parliamentary enactment, and at the earliest possible period, the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions."

### 4. KELSO.

On the 21st of October an Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Kelso; the Rev. R. Lundie in the chair. The Rev. Messrs. Bates, Renton, McCheyne, Hall, and Mr. James Simpson, Advocate, addressed the assembly; and a petition to parliament was adopted, praying the legislature to adopt effectual means "for paving the way for the reception of the blessings of freedom; and to fix a specific time beyond which slavery should cease to exist in any part of the British empire."

## 5. ABERDEEN.

On the 27th of October a meeting of the friends of Negro emancipation was held at Aberdeen, a city that has long distinguished itself by zealous exertion in the Anti-Slavery cause. The Hall in Union Street, where the assembly met, though capable of containing upwards of a thousand persons, was crowded to excess, and many hundreds of respectable inhabitants, including some of those who were to have addressed the meeting, found it impossible to gain admittance. The chair was occupied by the Rev. Dr. Morrison, of Banchoory, who, in an opening address, deplored the removal by death, since their last meeting in 1828, of not fewer than seven of the best supporters of the cause, and, among others, of their late venerable chairman, Dr. Robert Hamilton, distinguished not less by his ardent zeal in the cause of humanity than by his eminence in literature and political science.

The meeting was successively addressed by several gentlemen, in animated speeches, evincing in many cases an intimate acquaintance with the practical details and bearings of the question, not less than ardour in the high moral and political principles on which, as freemen and Christians, we are bound to consider it.

The following Ministers of the town and environs were the principal speakers: Rev. Messrs. Foote, Leith, Spence, Thorburn, Simpson, Angus, Penman, Cocking, Clowes, and Principal Jack, of the University. A petition was agreed upon, "urgently imploring parliament to proceed forthwith to devise and enact the wisest and best measures for insuring the early and final abolition of slavery."

## 6. PAISLEY.

An Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Paisley, in the Court Hall, on the 1st of November; James Carlile, Esq. in the chair. It was numerously attended. The subject was discussed with great ability by the following speakers: J. M. Bell, Esq. Advocate, Rev. Dr. Burns, Rev. Messrs. McDiarmid, McNair, Baird, Smart, and Kennedy. The speech of Dr. Burns has since been published in a separate form, and is well worth the attention of our readers.\*

## 7. GLASGOW.

On the 11th of November, a public meeting of the friends of negro emancipation was held at Glasgow, with a view to petition Parliament. The chair was occupied by Anthony Wigham, Esq. who opened the proceedings by an animated address. The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw followed, in a speech distinguished for high argumentative eloquence. We extract the following specimen:

"From the defenders of slavery, we hear a great deal about exaggeration. They allege that some of the facts adduced to impress the public mind are false, and that others are greatly aggravated. When they discover one of this description, they make the most of it; and would fain adopt, and persuade others to adopt the maxim, '*Ex uno disce omnes.*' And not a few are in danger of applying the maxim, and of having their sentiment of condemnation thus weakened; so that

\* Copies may be had at 13, Aldermanbury.

they report the counter-statements they have heard, with minds unsettled, and almost reduced to neutrality. They hear the printed journal of the atrocities of slavery traduced as a parcel of lies, the inventions and exaggerations of malice; they have specimens adduced, in which the falsehood or the aggravation, they cannot but think, is fairly made out; and their antipathies to slavery are brought almost to a mere negation. That exaggerated accounts have been occasionally circulated we may readily admit: it were almost a miracle that it should be otherwise. But I cannot allow such a charge as that of any thing like frequent mis-statement to be brought against the printed record to which I have alluded. The Anti-Slavery Reporter is compiled under the full assurance that there is an eye of vigilant jealousy which will closely scrutinise every article, and every particular of every article that appears there, and will drag to light, and expose to public obloquy, every thing that can be detected in the form of mis-statement. Even with this knowledge, strong as is the pledge of veracity and careful inquiry afforded by it, it would be wonderful that there never had been a slip. And yet, taking the whole average mass of its monthly contents for a series of years, the Editors might adopt the language of the angry patriarch, and say to their keenest and most virulent inquisitor, 'whereas thou hast searched all my stuff, what hast thou found?' But Sir, I will give the objector the benefit of a large allowance. The facts themselves are so multiplied, that we can easily afford it. I ask, what is the inference? Our principle is, that *Slavery is a bad thing, and ought to be abolished*. How stands the counter-argument? 'You say that Slavery is a bad thing; but some of the alleged facts in support of your position have been found exaggerated or groundless; so that'—So that what? what is the conclusion? that *Slavery is a good thing, and ought to be continued*? Unless the premises carry to this, they are nothing to the purpose. But, alas, for the Logic! How would it do in application to some other subjects? Suppose we take Persecution. There can be little doubt, that occasionally there have been false and exaggerated representations of particular facts in the history of persecution. Individuals may have been represented as killed, when they were only tortured; as tortured, when they were only banished; as banished, when they were only imprisoned; as having lost both eyes, when they only lost one; as having been put upon the rack, when they were only thumb-screwed; or as having received fifty lashes, when it was only forty-nine, or even, if you will, none at all; and a thousand may have been stated as massacred, when there were only nine hundred. We can conceive an endless variety of ways in which there may have been greater or slighter mis-statements. What is the inference? That persecution is a good thing? or that it should not be condemned and reprobated so strongly, in the principle or the practice of it, or branded with quite so deep a stigma of infamy, as, in these happy times of liberty of conscience, we have learned to affix to it? I shall only say, that the one inference would be as good as the other. Both are unsound and worthless.

"In the same spirit, Sir, we are many a time assured, that the idea

we have of the condition of the slaves is a very false one :—that they are well fed, and well seen to; that they are on the average better off than many of the working classes of our own country; that they do not feel their slavery, but, if only let alone by officious intermeddlers, would be merry and happy. But, Sir, keeping to general principles, I would first of all ask,—looking at the simple fact of 800,000 slaves, portioned out amongst I know not how many owners and superintendants,—and taking into account the natural and ascertained tendencies of slavery to degrade on the one side and to harden on the other,—whether it be in the nature of things, whether it be within the range of moral possibilities, that there should not exist an incalculable accumulation of wrong and outrage? We are, *a priori*, prepared to expect it. On the averages of human nature, we feel satisfied that it cannot be otherwise; and that there is a previous verisimilitude in any tale of horror that comes to us as the product of such a system; although such tales there have been, possessing features of atrocity so hideous, that but for their thorough authentication, they must have stunned us into incredulity. Keeping to general principles, I ask farther—slaves being regarded in general simply as so much farm stock, and estimated by the quantum of bone and muscle, and physical capability,—am I not right when I say, that similar principles of treatment are applied to them with those applied to any other animal machine, in the shape of horse or ox? Now there are here two systems of solution for the same practical problem. The problem is, how to bring the greatest amount of product from the animal's labour, whether brute or human. The first system is, exacting as much labour as possible in a short time. The other is, exacting less labour, and making the animal last the longer. The one method wearing out the physical powers quickly, but making them the more productive while they last; the other, wearing them out more slowly, and gaining in time what is deficient in toil. Now, the man who knows his own interest, must know, as a general principle, that whichever of these plans be followed, good feeding and careful treatment are necessary to its efficiency. But in the case of the slave, as well as of the brute, it is, in nine cases out of ten, a calculation of interest. And alas! in how many thousands and tens of thousands of cases do the hasty, the capricious, or the malignant tempers, which are either natural, or produced by the very tendencies of absolute domination, miserably overcome the principles of mercenary calculation, and make the victims of that domination feel the yoke to be cruelly galling? And even their good treatment, Sir, what is it? It is just the good treatment of their fellow-labourers, the horse, the ox, and the mule! And where is the British peasant, or the British mechanic, from John o'Groat's to the Land's End, who would, for such feeding and such treatment, relinquish his freedom, sell himself at a valuation, become a part of the goods and chattels of another, his absolute property, one of his live stock, a human brute, to be tasked at his mercy, and disposed of at his pleasure? Where is the man who would not prefer to such a condition the free sweat of his brow, were it compensated by no more than his crust of bread and his mouthful of water? Think not,

O think not, that I speak lightly of the sufferings of my fellow-countrymen at home. If the man is to be found who would make such a choice, he is deeply to be pitied. He has been rendered abject by the pressure of his condition. But here again, what is the inference? That because the mere physical condition of *some* of the negro slaves is superior (admitting for the sake of argument the assertions of the West Indians to be true,) to the physical condition of *some* of our labourers at home, we should therefore let the slaves alone, and that all our talk about them is the mere cant and whining of sentimentalism; and all our zeal, and all our petitioning, and all our efforts, the drivelling of a hypocritical enthusiasm, that is careless of distress at our door, and 'will be meddling' with what is none of its concerns? No, Sir, the legitimate inference is, not that we should give up caring for the negro, but that we should care more than ever for the suffering poor amongst ourselves. Sir, from the bottom of my heart, I sigh over the thought, that there should exist any ground for the degrading comparison. And sure I am, that if any measures can be brought into legitimate operation for lifting the burden of poverty and its attendant evils, from any class of our countrymen on whom it heavily presses, there is not a man on this platform who would not lend heart and hand to its promotion, who would not be ready to show, that the friend of the Negro slave is the friend of the British peasant, the friend of mankind."

The Rev. Messrs. Heugh, Greville Ewing, and Beattie, likewise delivered long and able addresses; and the Rev. Dr. Patrick M'Farlane, in moving one of the resolutions, adverted to an attack from the Glasgow Courier, in the following terms: "At the last meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, a petition to Parliament for the abolition of slavery was agreed to. A Journal, the organ of the West India interest in this city, has since animadverted on the conduct of the Synod, observing, that the Ministers of Glasgow derived their stipends from the prosperity of the West India interest; and if they effected the abolition of slavery, they must have their stipends reduced one-half—as much as to say: Take care, you are nursed by the West India interest; and you had better keep in amity with that powerful body. He came there that day to resist the attack made on the independence of himself and colleagues. He would tell that Journalist that no influence should deter him from the right of thinking and acting for himself; and he would pledge himself for the Ministers of Glasgow, that they were of the same mind. They held it as their indefeasible right to act and think for themselves, on all subjects; and they would not be frowned down by the most wealthy or powerful body, or by any influence whatever, from exercising their undoubted privilege. The writer attempts to alarm them by a reference to pecuniary considerations, but he rejected with disdain the foul insinuation that they were guided by pecuniary motives. He cast from himself and brethren, with the utmost scorn and indignation, such an imputation; his colleagues had acted honestly and independently, and they would continue to do so. (Applause.) The letter in question was signed D.C., (which he interpreted, Defender of the Colonies,) South Welling-

ton Place. (A laugh.) This redoubtable journalist\*—this pampered and well paid supporter of the West India interest—this declaimer against the rights of 800,000 black men, and as had been shown, of white men too—(a laugh)—knew too well that his sophistry would not do with men of education; and he therefore attacks what he supposes to be the weak side of the Ministers of Glasgow; and he says, in effect, ‘Gentlemen, take care of your interests!’ It must be a bad cause indeed which required such support. If the cause was a good one, if it was consistent with humanity, why did its supporters not appeal to a public meeting? It would be curious to see an advertisement in the Courier for instance calling a meeting in the Assembly Rooms on such a day and at such an hour to take into consideration the best means of perpetuating the ineffable blessing of slavery, not only in the West Indies, but to extend it over all the nations of the earth! † (Laughter.)”

\* The well known Mr. Macqueen is alluded to.

† The *Pro-Slavery* party in Glasgow have not ventured to call a public meeting; but they are now assiduously promoting a petition to Parliament, praying for *gradual emancipation*. And assuredly, as in the hands of the Planters even amelioration has been during the last 23 years so gradual as to be in many points actually retrogressive, we may look for emancipation, under such auspices, at the millennium—and not till then. We subjoin two of the clauses of this petition, as illustrative of the tone the West India party have recently assumed, for the obvious purpose of baffling the aims of the Abolitionists now, as they succeeded in baffling them for 20 years in the question of the Slave Trade,—by plausible pretexts for indefinite delay. Who, with a knowledge of the actual facts, can read without scorn and indignation their delusive and mendacious assertions about the pretended “efforts dictated by a just zeal” “being made to instruct him (the slave) in the principles of a holy religion and pure morality,” “*under the protection and encouragement of his owner*”!! And this they have the matchless effrontery to state, while they are persecuting (as we still find them doing by the very latest arrivals from Jamaica) both Missionaries and slaves, even to death, for communicating and receiving religious instruction! Marking merely a few of the hypocritical phrases of the following extract in Italics, we leave our readers to compare such professions with the general and unvarying treatment of the Slaves, as unveiled in our previous pages, and in Mr. Stephen’s invaluable and unanswerable “Delineation of Slavery.”

“That the *humanity* of resisting the slave’s immediate enfranchisement, is rendered still more evident by the fact, that meanwhile, *under the protection and encouragement of his owner, every effort dictated by a just zeal, and warranted by a prudent regard to circumstances, is being made to instruct him in the principles of a holy religion and pure morality*; and thus, by elevating him in the scale of civilization, to fit him for ultimately enjoying in a right spirit that freedom, which at present he values only as holding out a prospect of total exemption from labour, and unrestrained indulgence of those low appetites that always predominate in the savage character.—That, by allowing *the accessories to civilization thus already at work*, to operate their natural results in a gradual and peaceable manner, the Slave will at length become ready to enter on the enjoyment of entire freedom, without any shock being given to society, *or any risk encountered as to his own future destiny*: and therefore, since in no other way it is possible to reconcile the interests of all parties, and avoid either the robbery of the Colonists, the imposition of an insufferably large compensation-tax on this already over-taxed country, *or a direct violation of the humanity due to the Slave himself*,—it is demanded by right feeling, as well as by sound policy, that a deaf ear should



A series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, from which we extract the following:—

“That granting the desirableness, so incessantly pleaded by the slave-holders, and the advocates of their system, of preparing the slaves, by a previous process of mental culture, and especially of moral and religious instruction, for appreciating, enjoying, and rightly using their proposed freedom,—it is as lamentable as it is notorious, that by those who urge this plea, no general and efficient measures have yet been adopted for imparting the necessary preparation, so that were their intentions to be judged by their conduct, it would seem, with some honourable and praiseworthy exceptions, as if instead of being in earnest for the attainment of the ultimate design, they were rather desirous to retain the convenient plea, in undiminished force, for an indefinite futurity.

“That the system having grown to such an extent, and involving in it so great a variety of conflicting interests, it is not reasonably to be expected that any devisable scheme of emancipation should be unencumbered with difficulties; that those measures are entitled to preference which most effectually combine the two commands to ‘do justly’ and to ‘love mercy;’ that desirous as we are of the immediate extinction of all slavery, as a violation of the birthright of fellow-men, and a foul stain on our country’s character and honour, we shall rejoice, if, on mature consideration of claims and consequences, the British legislature shall find itself in a condition to restore the right, and to wipe off the stain by one glorious act of instant liberation; but should the case still appear as requiring measures of more gradual operation, it is in our judgment indispensable, that the salutary proposals which have already been approved by Parliament, instead of being any longer left, in any case, to the discretionary adoption of the colonial authorities, shall all be rendered imperative by express enactment, and their strict observance be penally enforced; so that the country may no longer be befooled by unexecuted orders and illusory promises.”

#### 8. SCOTTISH SYNODS AND PRESBYTERIES.

Before leaving Scotland for the present, we have to add, with great satisfaction, that this cause has been advocated by the ministers of religion, in that country, both of the established church and other denominations, with peculiar zeal and ability. Keeping the question of slavery, as it ought to be kept, distinct from all reference to party politics, the clergy of Scotland, generally, have justly viewed it to be their high duty and privilege to come forward prominently at this important conjuncture, to instruct and arouse the people under their charge to petition the legislature. They have also, in several cases, sent in their own solemn appeal for the abolition of Slavery in a collective capacity. The Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, as was stated by Dr. McFarlane, have done so unanimously; and the Synods of Merse and Teviotdale, and of Lothian and Tweeddale, by overwhelming majorities. The Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Paisley, Selkirk, and, we believe, several others, have adopted the same meritorious course; and numerous parochial and congregational petitions, promoted by the clergy, have been presented to Parliament. It is but justice to notice, that

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be turned to those who, guided only by abstract notions of philanthropy, and overlooking all considerations of practical wisdom, would precipitate at once a crisis, which cannot come upon us safely but as the effect of an adequate degree of civilization, produced by humanizing causes operating through a sufficient length of years.”

the United Synod of the Scottish Secession Church, representing upwards of three hundred congregations, led the way, as a religious body, in this work of justice and mercy.

#### 9. BRADFORD.

On the 4th of October, a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Bradford and its vicinity was held, with a view to address the Throne, and petition Parliament for the "speedy extinction" of negro slavery. The Rev. Henry Heap, Vicar of Bradford, was called to the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. G. S. Bull, Rev. Dr. Stedman, Rev. Messrs. Hudson, Morgan, Godwin,\* and Fish, in very impressive speeches. The Rev. Mr. Hudson, who is a Baptist minister, and was formerly a missionary in Jamaica, observed that the colonists talked much of the evils and perils which might be apprehended to result from the abolition of slavery in the West Indies; but that in his opinion, formed after three years' residence there, these apprehensions were groundless. After discussing and illustrating this part of the question at some length, and demonstrating the futility of the threats of the colonists to rebel and throw themselves into the hands of the Americans, should abolition be carried in parliament, Mr. Hudson detailed some facts of which he had been a witness, illustrative of the inhumanity with which the slaves were frequently treated. Among other cruelties, he had himself seen a boy laid down to be flogged, and his mother compelled to hold him whilst his brother administered fifty-two lashes; and, during the castigation, the master took the whip from the brother's hand, and flogged *him* for not flogging hard enough. It was, he added, common to see women flogged by the drivers with the cart-whip, a terrible instrument from five to seven feet long. Notwithstanding the law which forbids working between seven o'clock on Saturday night and seven on Monday morning, he had frequently seen mills and carts at work on Sunday. And who was to inform against the practice? Self-interest operated through every heart, from one end of the country to the other, and therefore it could never be expected that the colonists would abolish the system by which they were supported. The statement that it would be impossible to evangelize the negroes was false, because it was founded on the principle that they were not men but brutes. Indeed he had seen a letter in the Montego Bay Gazette, published in 1828, in which the writer held that negroes were neither men nor brutes, but a certain mixed species!"

#### 10. MELKSHAM.

Early in October an Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Melksham, when several energetic resolutions were passed, and petitions to both Houses of Parliament agreed upon. The Rev. Messrs. Hume, Newton, Johnson, Rogers, Elliot, Honywill, Keene, and Parry; and Messrs. Wither, Fowler, Awdry, and Halbert, respectively addressed the assembly with great effect. Mr. Wither, in a speech of considerable

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\* Author of "Lectures on Slavery."

length, delineated the evils and miseries of slavery, as he had personally witnessed them a few years ago in the southern states of America. He had there seen the slaves driven by the whip on the public roads, from place to place, like droves of cattle. He had seen men, women, and children of all ages, exposed for sale in the public markets, in the same manner precisely as cattle are exposed in the fairs and markets of this country; and, on these occasions, every regard to decency was set at defiance. That the negroes were endowed with the same intellectual powers as Europeans, had been, he said, demonstrated to his perfect satisfaction, on his personal observation of schools in America for black and coloured children, where he had seen them pass their examinations in the different branches of literature with ability quite equal to what he had ever witnessed in our schools at home.

### 11. TRURO.

On the 8th of October, the Annual Meeting of the Truro Anti-Slavery Society was held in the Assembly Room of that town. Wm. Tweedy, Esq. was called to the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Clarke, Martin, Trist, Moore, and by Messrs. W. M. Tweedy and W. T. Blair. Several of the speeches were very able; but the necessity which our limits impose of restricting our extracts within narrow boundaries, compels us to pass over this meeting, like many others, without giving even an outline of the proceedings. The meeting separated under a deep impression of the duty of uniting in every legal means of putting an early and total end to the criminal and degrading system.

### 12. KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

On the same day, (October 8th,) a public meeting to petition Parliament for the extinction of slavery, and to establish an Anti-Slavery Association, was held at Kingston-on-Thames. J. I. Briscoe, Esq. M. P. was called to the chair, and introduced the business by an appropriate address. He was well supported by Mr. H. Pownall, in a long and impressive speech; and also by the Hon. and Rev. Gerard Noel, Mr. Joseph Wilson, of Clapham, Rev. A. Churchill, Messrs. Phillips, Strachan, Palmer, Chalk, &c. An energetic petition was adopted.

### 13. FALMOUTH.

On the 11th of October, a meeting was held at Falmouth, with the view of forming an Anti-Slavery Association, and promoting petitions to Parliament. The chair was occupied by J. Cornish, Esq. Mayor; and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Harding, Davies, Clarke, Muscut; and by Messrs. Blair, Bond, Budd, and Dr. Boase. We must confine ourselves to a brief notice of the valuable testimony of the Rev. Mr. Davies, respecting West India slavery. Having been recently a missionary in the West Indies, he gives his evidence as an eye-witness.

He came forward, he said, to give his voluntary testimony against West India slavery, as a system unsanctioned by the word of God, re-

pugnant to the rights of mankind, and opposed to every good principle in human nature. Admitting that some facts may have been mis-stated, some acts of cruelty unintentionally exaggerated, the colonists had little cause to complain; for were every thing fairly adjusted—every inaccuracy corrected, and exaggeration retracted, and, on the other side, the manifold atrocities brought to light which are now unknown, the case of the planters would appear much worse than it does at present. There were, it is true, *some* planters who treat their slaves with humanity—who are careful to restrict the unmeasured use of the whip—who make provision for their wants—shew them considerable attention when sick—and even provide for their religious instruction; but such treatment, said Mr. D. is the exception, not the general rule, in the West Indies: by far the greater proportion of the planters are criminal in the sight of God and man.—He maintained that there is no analogy between the slavery allowed among the Jews and that which prevails in our colonies, either in origin or practice. A man who should acquire a slave under the Jewish law, by robbery, as our negro slaves were acquired, was liable to be put to death. The Jews held a slave in bondage six years, and then allowed him to go free, with a provision for his immediate wants. An individual might, indeed, voluntarily relinquish his right to liberty, and remain in a state of bondage; but the Jubilee terminated even contracts of that kind. Was there any thing of the mildness and mercifulness of this species of servitude to be found in West India slavery? Again, under the old dispensation, the Jewish master was directed to give his bondman a reasonable support, and to treat him with kindness and humanity; and no ignominious punishment was to be inflicted upon him, lest he should appear vile in the estimation of his brethren. But how different was the case in our colonies! The planters, no doubt, asserted that the slaves were well provided for. But it is not the case. A poor slave, on one occasion, told him (Mr. Davies) that he wished to attend the sacrament, but was afraid to come, because he was compelled to sell and buy on the Sabbath-day. Three herrings and a half per week for himself, and a herring and a half for each child, was not sufficient, he said, to keep them, and one suit of clothes was not enough for the year; and so they were obliged to go to market and thus obtain support. This was the testimony of an individual making no complaint, and who was, in fact, a great deal better off than many of his brethren. One poor man who had been most shamefully treated, after telling Mr. Davies his piteous tale, remarked—“*Me cannot stand all this for religion.*” And these were not solitary instances.—The planters see no evil in slavery. Their blindness to its evils was one of its most deplorable effects. Men may see so much and live so long as to lose the natural sensibilities of humanity, and even come at last to “*put darkness for light, and evil for good.*” This is the judicial curse of slavery upon its abettors. Under the old dispensation, so often referred to by the advocates of slavery, the bondman was respected as a being accountable to God; and the master was bound and encouraged to stimulate him to attend religious worship, and participate in the common privileges of the dispensation. All the great festivals were days

of delight to the slave as well as to the master; while in the sabbatical year the produce of the fields was given to the slave equally with the other poor of the land. But the very circumstances under which the West India slaves are compelled to procure their subsistence necessarily occasioned the desecration of the Sabbath.

Mr. Bond, another speaker, said he had resided three years in a land of slavery, but had not seen enough of it to love it. He abhorred it under every form; and from his own experience could refute the vile assertion, that the slave is better off than the poor of our own country. He denied that the slaves are, or can be, happy; for he had witnessed the tender mercies of the slaveholders, that they are cruel. They did nothing for the slave beyond what self-interest imperatively exacted, and not even always that. Every thing else which justice and humanity claimed was left undone.

#### 14. SOUTHAMPTON.

A numerous meeting was held at Southampton on the 11th of October, for the purpose of petitioning for the abolition of slavery. The chair was occupied by Dr. Nicoll; and the evils of the system were fully and ably discussed by the Rev. Messrs. Maurice, Coleman, Crabb, Wilson, Bétridge, Adkins, Bromley, Genest, and Dr. Clarke. A petition for "the early and utter extinction of slavery" was agreed upon.

#### 15. HUDDERSFIELD.

On the same day (Oct. 11) a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Huddersfield and its vicinity, was held in the Court House of that town; Mr. Beaumont in the chair. The slavery question was discussed in almost all its bearings, by the Rev. Messrs. Wyndham Maddan, Boothroyd, Haunch, Eagleton, Bunting, Farrar, Lynn; and by Messrs. Sutcliffe, Cliff, Watt, Willans, Wilson, and Oldfield. Several very able speeches were delivered at this meeting, but we can only quote the following remarks from that of Mr. Watt, in the justice of which every one acquainted with the practical effects of slavery must fully acquiesce.—Speaking of the planters, he observed, "It is difficult to believe it possible that men endowed with the common feelings of humanity can be guilty of such atrocities towards their oppressed brethren, far less are we inclined readily to admit that ladies, losing the delicacy of their sex and the finer feelings of their nature, can witness these cruelties, and actually order inflictions which produce great bodily pain to the unhappy sufferers, and deaden the best sensibilities of their nature. It is difficult to believe such things, although their existence be undeniable, and therefore many are inclined to think that the same representations, the same arguments, and the same appeals that are successful when made to our feelings of mercy and our Christian principles, will operate in a powerful manner on the owners and superintendants of slaves, and produce an alteration of conduct. But it is not always remembered that man is in a great measure the creature of circumstances, and that very often the character is formed from the situation; that the practices of one country, for which there may

be a complete toleration, would be considered as so many atrocities in another country; that what would revolt the public feeling in our own land, might attach no disgrace whatever to residents in some colonial settlement. If this be admitted as true, (and who is there that knows the world, and has studied human nature, but will admit the correctness of the description ?) then I think it follows, that what would be revolting and abhorrent to our feelings in the conduct practised towards the slaves, and which we would term inhumanity, cruelty, and barbarity, may be viewed in a very different light, and called by very different names, by those who live in an atmosphere differing both naturally and morally from that which we have the inestimable privilege to enjoy. And this view of the subject will go a great way to explain how we cannot put faith in the owners and superintendants of slaves, and ought to determine us to rely upon their tender mercies no longer, but with united voices to send our last appeal to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain,—telling them respectfully but firmly, that humanity, freedom, and Christianity require a speedy and utter extinction of colonial slavery.”

#### 16. HANLEY AND SHELTON.

The same day (Oct. 11.) an anti-slavery meeting was held of the inhabitants of Hanley and Shelton, Staffordshire. The chief bailiff, W. Ridgway, Esq., occupied the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Edmonds, Smith, Shuttleworth, Newland, Davies, Waterhouse; and by Messrs. Josiah Wedgwood and Griffin. The speakers here, as at almost every similar meeting of which we have obtained a report, exhibited great knowledge of the subject. A petition to the legislature “for the immediate and utter extinction of slavery,” was adopted.

#### 17. KENDAL.

On the 12th of October, a meeting to petition for “the early and utter abolition of slavery” was held at Kendal; Jonathan Hodgson, Esq., Mayor, in the chair. The assembly, says the *Westmoreland Gazette*, ‘was more numerous than was ever witnessed on any similar occasion. The speakers were the Rev. Messrs. Jones, Wilson, Rowland, Cousin; and Messrs. Crewdson, Moser, Marshall, and Benson. Mr. Crewdson introduced the business by a clear and succinct history of British colonial slavery, from its first introduction in the reign of Elizabeth to the present day; and the subject was subsequently elucidated in a very satisfactory manner by those who followed. The Rev. David Jones combated the allegation so often brought forward by the abettors of slavery, that it is a system countenanced by Scripture. After fully and successfully discussing this topic, he concluded an eloquent speech as follows:—“In the bay of Algiers, amid fire and smoke, and ruined works, and slaughtered men, England loudly and solemnly denounced the practice of slavery; and why should the same abominable practice be fostered and perpetuated in the British colonies? We have interfered on behalf of the Greeks to establish their liberties; and the Grand Sul-

tan of Turkey has been bound over to keep the peace by the great powers of Europe. And why should the injured sons of Africa be neglected? Is it because they cannot, like the Greeks, boast of classic story, and proudly refer to sages, orators, and heroes, like those of Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylæ? Surely, as God has made the Negro of one blood with all other nations, he has an equal right of liberty with all. Let us then bestir ourselves in his cause. Let the British people arise in the greatness of their moral strength, and, devoted by Christian principles to the sacred cause of freedom, let them proclaim it aloud, not only that 'Britons never will be slaves,' but that 'Britons never will hold slaves!' (cheers.) Let them lift up their voices on high; our senators will attend to it, and in the islands far off in the sea, and in the lands across the deep, the slave and slave-holder shall catch and comprehend the mighty sound; and the fetters shall be broken, and the scourge shall be laid aside, and the badges of bondage shall be trampled under foot,—and the emancipated shall stand erect in the presence of God and of men, in the holy consciousness of his liberty, while his heart palpitates with gratitude for the arrival of the hour when he is recognised throughout the world as a man and a brother!"

#### 18. HADLEIGH.

An anti-slavery meeting was held at this place on the 13th of October. The Rev. W. Edge, rector of Nedging presided, and opened the proceedings by a luminous speech on the anti-scriptural, unjust, and inhuman character of negro slavery. Several resolutions, condemnatory of the system, were passed, and a petition to parliament adopted, after addresses in a similar strain from the Rev. H. J. Rose, rector of Hadleigh,—Rev. Messrs. Wallace, Edwards, Speare,—and Messrs. Alston, Staines, Mudd, Pickess, and Mr. Morris, of Colchester.

#### 19. PENZANCE.

On the same day, (Oct. 13) a public meeting for petitioning Parliament to abolish slavery was held in the Town Hall, Penzance. The chair was occupied by the Rev. N. Tonkin, and various resolutions were moved and supported by the Rev. Messrs. Le Grice, Harvey, Townsend, &c. An energetic petition was agreed upon.

#### 20. WELLINGBOROUGH.

On the 14th of October a similar meeting was held in the Town Hall of Wellingborough. Charles Hill, Esq., was called to the chair; and the several resolutions proposed were supported by the Rev. Messrs. Robertson, Jacomb, Renals, and Sevier; and by Messrs. Keep, Wallis, Sharman, Marriott, Curtis, and Soames. The following is an extract from the petition adopted:

"Your petitioners, in their abhorrence of slavery, denounce it as unnatural, in violation of human rights, inconsistent with every sound system of national policy, in opposition to every principle of religion, replete with wrongs and cruelties to men, and offensive and insulting to God, who has made of one blood all the individuals of the human race, and with whom there is no respect of

persons; and your petitioners avow their conviction that to connive at its continuance, or to be silent so long as it shall be the reproach of a free and enlightened people that it is sanctioned by their laws, would subject them to the imputation of being insensible to the value of their own rights, and destitute of the feelings of humanity.

“That your petitioners, strong in the confidence that all unjust restrictions on the natural rights of mankind, and every denial of their essential claims, will finally be removed and redressed; and no less assured that the moral feelings of the people of the United Kingdom are opposed to the whole system of colonial bondage; are resolved, never to desist from the employment of all lawful means to obtain the erasure of the odious and detested name of slave from the statute book of their country, and to place those of their unoffending and deeply injured fellow-subjects to whom it is applied, in the possession of the blessings which the British Constitution recognizes as the birth-right of all within its pale.”

## 21. PORTSEA.

A meeting to petition parliament “for the entire and speedy abolition of slavery,” was held at Portsea, on the 15th of October. The Mayor, D. Howard, Esq. presided, and opened the proceedings; and the following gentlemen addressed the meeting:—The Rev. Dr. Inman, Rev. Messrs. C. B. Henville, Macconnell, Martin, Carruthers, Watts, Best; Messrs. Minchin, Hoskins, Snooke, Maurice, Elliott, and Jackson. The speeches evinced the same thorough acquaintance with the subject, which we have, with high satisfaction, observed to prevail at almost every similar meeting which has recently been held throughout the kingdom: a fact which we hail as an earnest of early and entire success for our great cause; for we are persuaded that whenever the true character and effects of negro slavery are *fully* appreciated by the British people, the national voice will make itself to be heard in parliament, in a manner not to be longer withstood. It is on such occasions, when the high moral principles of our nature vindicate their divine origin, and speak out loftily and loud with the irresistible energy of collective mind, that we recognize the truth of the ancient adage, *Vox populi—vox Dei*.

Of the tone and the talent with which the question was discussed at this meeting, we can admit only a very brief specimen. Mr. Minchin observed, that “they were not met to argue the question, whether man should be the slave of his fellow man—whether a man born of the same common parents, formed by the same great Creator, and redeemed by the blood of the same common Saviour, may become the goods and chattels of another. Slavery is not an offence to be tolerated; it is a foul, a wretched, and an abominable crime to be abolished. And although the legislature had voted for the abolition, and Orders in Council had been issued by his Majesty’s Government for the regulation of the colonies in respect to it, and for the amelioration and gradual emancipation of the slave, yet it was a lamentable fact, that every measure of Government had been opposed and thwarted, its endeavours frustrated, and its energy weakened, if not destroyed, by the policy and conduct of those in the colonies interested in its continuance; so that it became necessary for the Legislature again to interfere with its supreme authority. The voice of the



nation in abhorrence of it would now, no doubt, be expressed from one end of these islands to the other; and our representatives, who are in our stead in the great Council of the nation, as they are so chosen or at least ought to be, by us, are bound, if they do their duty, to listen to that voice, and vote for the utter abolition of a system which of itself is an abomination in the empire."

Mr. Jackson, in discussing the objection of the West Indians, that the planter would suffer injury by emancipation, argued thus:—"Emancipation will enable the planter to produce at a cheaper rate by free than slave labour. This may be denied, but how stands the fact? Either the planter treats his slaves well or ill: if ill, then emancipation is necessary on that ground; but if he give them a sufficient supply of food, suitable lodging, and proper relaxation, then slave-labour is as expensive as free, nay more so, because emancipation will render unnecessary that capital which is now laid out in the detestable purchase of this 'live stock.' To come more to detail, if the purchase money is 10,000*l.* and the wear and tear of human flesh and interest of money is (as has been asserted) 25 per cent., then there will be an annual saving of 2500*l.*, by using free instead of compelled labour; and this is independent of the additional work which would be performed by free men, and the saving of all the expensive machinery of slave-drivers, overseers, and cart-whips. Hence, doubtless, the reason of the cheaper produce of the East Indies over the West, so that the latter to compete with the former, requires a larger protecting duty.\*"

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\* The point here adverted to is placed in a very striking light, in the following communication from a respected correspondent:—"One chief practical argument against emancipation which I hear in conversation, and read in West India petitions is, that the slaves will not work for hire in a state of freedom, as they do now by severity in a state of bondage: and that consequently property, so far as its worth depends upon forced labour, will be diminished by making labour free. The objection is usually answered by shewing that, in the end, free labour is more valuable than slave labour, which I fully believe; but I submit that it were better for the private and the parliamentary advocates of emancipation to meet the objection in its direct form. Let them say, 'You tell us that you cannot get men to work by wages, by encouragements, by bribes, by voluntary contracts, however guaranteed by severe legal punishments for the breach of them, as they work now.' We admit it; we believe it; by your own confession you exact a painful, exhausting, and, in the end, murderous quantum of labour, such as nothing but brutal severity, the constant terror or infliction of the impending cart-whip, could extort. Calculating on this exterminating extra toil, you have erected mills, and machinery, and cultivated land equivalent to it; while you pretended to the British public, when they urged that your system was too severe, that, so far from it, the slaves worked with pleasure, and only to an easy and reasonable extent; they had no more to do than they could do with comfort, with health, with longevity, and with an increase of population. Now take your choice of your own opposing arguments. If their labour is not unjust and intolerable, it can be secured as well by wages as by stripes; the slave must eat, and you may make your bargain with him to work to the extent of his wants, which liberty will increase, but beyond which you have no right to force him to toil. But you now admit, nay contend, that the necessary work is far too laborious, unremitted, and murderous to be effected by any means that can be applied to a free man. You

## 22. STOWMARKET.

At this place a numerous meeting to petition for the abolition of slavery, was held on the 20th of October. Mr. R. D. Alexander, of Ipswich, was called to the chair; and the assembly was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Bull, Ward, Sprigg, J. Charlesworth, Rector of Flowton; and Messrs. Cobbold and J. Bayley. The speakers evinced the same remarkable knowledge of the slave system, and the same unanimity of sentiment in denouncing it, which we have already noticed, as distinguishing so many similar meetings at this crisis. An energetic petition was adopted.

## 23. READING.

On the 21st of October, a meeting to petition for the abolition of slavery was held at Reading, in the Town Hall. The Mayor, J. J. Blandy, Esq. was called to the chair; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Hulme, Hinton, Langley, Sherman, Morris; and by C. F. Palmer, Esq. M. P. Messrs. Ring, Darvall, and Joseph Phillips, from Antigua. The sentiments of the above speakers were unanimous in support of the petition, which denounced British colonial slavery as "impolitic, cruel, and unjust," and prayed for its abolition "at the earliest possible period."

Mr. Phillips, who had been invited to attend the meeting by the Committee of the Reading Anti-Slavery Association, gave an account of his observations on slavery, during a residence of twenty-seven years in Antigua, and of his persecution and imprisonment for upwards of twelve months, by the Assembly of Antigua, for no other crime than having acted as secretary to a society of Quakers, who

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have then deceived us, or attempted, at least, to do so. All you said of your easy yoke was fraudulent fiction; and now you turn round on us and ask us to indemnify you for your cruelty, to make up to you for the severe extra toil which you said you never exacted, and which, if we had not been deceived by your false statements of lenity, we would never have allowed to be extorted."

"I know of no argument so suicidal as this which the West Indian interest are now urging, and which, I understand, is to be their sheet anchor in adjusting the question of emancipation. Suppose that it were agreed, that a certain number of hours are as many as children in a cotton manufactory ought to work; that complaints were made that they were forced to work much longer; that the proprietors long and constantly denied this; that at length, to set the matter at rest, parliament humanely determined to fix the maximum of hours; and that then the proprietors turned round and complained that they should be ruined; that they had invested property in mills which would be deteriorated if the children might not work half as long again as all men agreed to be reasonable, but which they had been accustomed to do up to the present moment. Would parliament allow the plea? Would it not be reprobated as preposterous and insulting? I do not mean that the cases are parallel; for the children, in our mills, work for wages, and under the control of their parents who are interested in their welfare, and not as slaves under the lash of a stranger. But the case is *so far* parallel, that parliament would not allow the wrong doer to avail himself of his own falsehood and cruelty to enhance artificially the nominal value of his property beyond what it was worth without a violation of justice and humanity."

made him their agent to distribute money to relieve the necessities of superannuated slaves, deserted by their owners.\*

The most remarkable circumstance, however, attending this meeting, was the speech of a Captain Browne, a Jamaica planter. This gentleman having arisen in the body of the hall, to reply to the statements of those who delineated the evils of slavery, was politely invited to mount the platform. He accordingly took his place there, and delivered a long speech, which was listened to by the meeting with the utmost attention, and without interruption to its close. As it affords a fair specimen of the veracity, candour, and modesty of the West Indians, in pleading their own cause before the British public, we shall extract from the *Berkshire Chronicle* of October 30th, (where a full report of this speech is given "by particular desire,") the following passages,—forming as audacious a defence, or rather eulogy, of West India slavery as we have recently met with.

"In reply to Mr. Hulme, he denied the ill-treatment of the slaves in the British colonies. He contended that on the contrary they were treated with the greatest kindness and humanity, from the moment of their birth to the latest period of their lives. They were nursed, clothed, fed, and provided for in every way that could possibly contribute to their comfort and happiness. They had medical aid; they had spiritual aid; many of them were in possession of wealth and luxuries; and many who had more than sufficient to purchase their freedom, would not do so, well knowing that if they did, all the comforts they now enjoyed, and which they received from their present proprietors, they would have to provide for themselves, and that when assailed by old age or infirmity, they would be left destitute. He stated he had been in the colonies—he had witnessed the happiness of the slaves, and the humanity of the planters. He denied that they were refused the worship of God, as stated by the Rev. gentleman. He enlarged on the value of the West Indian colonies; also on the laws [what laws?] for bettering the condition of the negroes, as enacted by Parliament in Mr. Canning's administration in 1823—and denied that they had not been obeyed by the colonies, except in one or two points, and in one or two instances, which no doubt was done, not with the view of treating the mother country with contempt, but in the belief that the putting them into execution would endanger those colonies. He contended that the slavery in the British colonies was but in name, and not in reality; and that if emancipation was declared in the colonies at twelve at noon, martial law must and would be proclaimed at eight at night, in order to prevent the massacre of every white person in the colonies. Such a measure would immediately undo all the humane endeavours of the government to better their condition, and also the benevolent exertions of the planters to instruct them in those moral obligations towards each other, which had so materially tended to their happiness." In referring to the slave trade, "he also denied the horrors of the middle passage which the Rev. gentleman so forcibly dwelt upon."

"In reply to the Rev. Mr. Langley, of Wallingford, who said

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\* See notices of the treatment of Mr. Phillips, in Nos. 52 and 53, *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; and in the present Number, p. 69.

Captain Browne had stated at Abingdon, that he had offered his negroes their freedom; he denied having said so: what he then said was, that such as had the means of purchasing it, were at full liberty to do so, but would not."

Instead of replying to the above unscrupulous assertions respecting the treatment and condition of the slaves, which are in fact too preposterously mendacious to be seriously replied to, we shall refer our readers to the facts detailed in every number of the Reporter illustrative of the actual character and effects of West India slavery, and especially to the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Thorpe, in No. 71, to that of the Rev. Messrs. Hudson, Davis, and Orton, and of Messrs. Stephen and Phillips, in the present Number, (see pp. 40, 41, 63, 69, 72,) and to numerous other recent witnesses of unquestionable character. Above all, if any reader finds himself too uninformed in details to repel such fallacious assertions, let him peruse Mr. Stephen's second volume, recently published. It ought to be familiar to every man who comes forward to support the Anti-Slavery cause.

#### 24. LISKEARD.

A meeting to petition for the abolition of slavery was held in the Town Hall at Liskeard, on the 21st of October. The Rev. John Leske presided, and opened the proceedings by a long and interesting speech, which was suitably followed up by addresses from the Rev. Messrs. Radford, Callaway, Borlase, Dunn, Salter, Dorrington, and by Messrs. John Allen and W. Pearse.

#### 25. PLYMOUTH.

A meeting was held at Plymouth on the 22nd of October. The chair was occupied by Mr. R. Bayley; and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Nicholson, Rowe, Usher, Hartley, and by Messrs. Woolcombe, Prideaux, Prance, and Derry.

#### 26. BATH.

On the 22nd of October, a meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, Bath, to petition for "the speedy and total abolition of slavery." It was very fully attended; and the Bishop of Bath and Wells presided. His Lordship opened the proceedings by an appropriate address, in which he maintained that slavery is opposed to the whole tenor and spirit of the Christian code; and that it is impolitic as well as unchristian, and ought to be totally abolished. His Lordship observed, however, that he was not an advocate for *instantaneous* emancipation; but thought some previous preparation and instruction necessary to render the slaves fit for the enjoyment of freedom. He was also favourable to some compensation being made to the slave owners, however defective in a moral point of view might be their title. It ought ever to be considered that *he* was the best friend of the slave who brought forward the most *practicable* system of emancipation. His Lordship concluded by expressing the satisfaction he should have in presenting the petition now proposed to the legislature, and by avowing his hope that the period was near at hand when the slave shall be prepared for freedom, and when the foul blot which now attaches to the character of this Christian people, shall be washed away by the full and final abolition of negro slavery.

The Rev. J. B. Jervoise, in proposing the first resolution, delivered an energetic address upon the degrading and destructive effects of slavery, and on the mockery of the West Indian legislatures professing to promote the instruction of the slaves in the principles of Christianity, while they kept them in a state of *physical* incapability to obey its precepts. What follows, we copy from the Bath and Cheltenham Gazette.

“During the address of Mr. Jervoise, certain persons, who had fixed themselves on the sinister side of the platform, attempted to create a disturbance by interruptions, clamour, and hisses. The Rt. Rev. Chairman, by his mingled suavity and firmness, at length silenced these expressions of adverse feeling, and succeeded in establishing order. The motion being put to the vote, Mr. Caldecot, who appeared to take the lead in this opposition, gave in a paper to the Chair, containing some other propositions; but the persons who acted with him were each so desirous to be heard, that a scene of confusion ensued, the consequence of which was, that we could not gather two consecutive sentences delivered by any one of them. It was at length decided by the Chairman that the regular business of the meeting should proceed, and that he would, at the proper time, submit Mr. Caldecot’s amendment to the sense of the meeting.

“Mr. Wilberforce then came forward and spoke as follows:—‘My Lord, I am reminded but too forcibly, both by my bodily and mental infirmities, that, at my advanced period of life, it is time to retire from the public stage. But when I heard that your Lordship was to honour us by taking the chair on this occasion, how could I but wish once more to raise my feeble voice, and, however faintly, to advocate that good cause for which I have so often pleaded, and for the success of which my heart will never cease to feel deeply to the latest moment of rational existence! Surely, my Lord, you could have come forward on no occasion with more perfect propriety than on that for which we are now assembled. It is one in which you imitate the example, and act in the spirit of your Divine Master, exercising humanity at once to the bodies and souls of men—like Him who first fed the hungry, and then conferred on them the still greater blessings of his own divine instruction. To a Christian, my Lord, it must be regarded as an axiom, that an opportunity of doing good is tantamount to a command to undertake the service; and surely there never was a greater mass of misery to be terminated, or a greater amount of good to be conferred, than by the measure which we are now met together to support.—Many who have opposed our proceedings have appeared, mistakenly, to suppose that we rest the propriety of our interference chiefly on the ground of *individual* acts of cruelty committed on the bodies of the slaves. That such cruelties will exist wherever man, with all the various weaknesses and infirmities of his nature, is possessed of absolute power, is doubtless undeniable. No man is fit to be trusted with it, and no man who knows himself would wish to possess it: and but for my not wishing to give unnecessary pain to many who are here present, I could tell such tales of individual injury and suffering, as would cause the heart of any feeling man to bleed

within him. But it is the *system* that we wish to change. It has always been our charge that the slaves, generally speaking, are overworked and underfed. I know, and willingly confess, that there are many individual slave-holders who are men of as much humanity as any other of their fellow-creatures; and it is really true that the same island, Barbadoes, contains persons of our own colour, of the best and of the worst description of West Indians. But the evils of which I now complain, the underfeeding and overworking, arise necessarily out of the system. The greater part of the West Indian proprietors are resident in this country. However humane they may be, the slaves are far more affected by the disposition and temper of the individuals immediately over them—their book-keepers, and more especially their drivers and other servants on the estate. Nor is this all. The attorneys or managers naturally wish to render the receipts as great, and the outgoings as small, as can be effected: and as long ago as the time of Mr. Long, the Historian of Jamaica, it was stated by him that there were many managers who got great characters by raising great crops at a small comparative expense, who in a very few years stole away like a rat from a barn in flames (such was his own language), the gang of slaves who had been under such management having in a great degree perished; while the manager went to another part of the island, sure to obtain a service by the credit he had acquired in his former situation. I repeat it, therefore, there is always a necessary tendency to render the expenses of the estate, by far the greater part of which consists in the maintenance of the slaves, as little, and their produce, in other words their labour, as great as possible.

“ But there is another cause, of but too sure efficiency, which must have a tendency to produce the ill-usage and degradation of the Negro race. Their colour, their features, and other peculiarities, which it might be offensive to specify, infallibly tend to lessen our fellow feeling for them, and we all know that sympathy is the secret spring of humanity. I grant that in one of our greatest islands the situation of the slaves has been of late greatly improved in these particulars. I refer to the great island of Barbadoes. The slaves were there formerly supported by certain moderate allotments of imported food, and as the truly worthy agent of the island, and my good old friend, Mr. Braithwaite, I well remember, told me, when flour (American) was at a high price, it went hard with the poor slaves, in consequence. The mode of feeding them has been since changed—the slaves are supported by a sufficient quantity of land being worked for the growth of provisions enough for them all. And here, I must mention a decisive proof which this very case supplies of the justice of our position—that the mortality of the slaves arose from their being underfed in proportion to their work. While the old system prevailed, the slaves in Barbadoes being chiefly Creoles, and there being many resident owners, they did not decrease rapidly; but they barely kept up their number, which for many years was little less than 60,000. Yet now, when their quantity of food is increased—and how much more you may judge when you hear that it is nearly *two or three times* what is given to

many of the slaves, however hardly worked, in other settlements—they have increased so rapidly as now to amount to nearly 82,000. I beg this may be noticed, because it is one of the most important considerations in the whole enquiry.

“ But I am ashamed thus to dwell on the bodily grievances of the slave: great as they are, comparatively speaking, they are the least of his injuries. The Negroes are our fellow-creatures, immortal beings like ourselves. It is in this higher character that I am now contending for their rights. That they should be so long strangers to the institution of marriage, which they enjoyed even while in Africa—that they should be sunk into the lowest state of vice, and ignorance, and degradation—strangers to the ease and comfort of a Christian Sabbath—strangers to all the blessed hopes and prospects of Christianity—my Lord, it is too shocking to think of! and we should not lose an hour in endeavouring to do away these multiplied wrongs, by administering the only cure,—*their actual admission to that liberty to which the God of nature has entitled them, and which, in its consequences, would give them all the rest.* But, then, it is alleged that their admission to these rights and enjoyments would bring ruin on the West Indies. A moment’s reflection produced in my mind a strong presumption against the correctness of this position when it was first urged on me. I could not believe that the prosperity of one country or class of men could be grounded necessarily on the misery of another. Knowing, my Lord, the character given us in the Scripture of the Supreme Being—that He is emphatically declared to us to be best expressed by LOVE—I could not conceive it possible, that it could be requisite to retain any particular race of men in continued suffering and degradation, in order to provide for the affluence and for the improvement of the resources of another set of creatures of the same Almighty hand. I took courage, and proceeded; and soon I discovered, as I had confidently hoped, that the path of justice was also the path of true policy. My Lord, I well remember, that when a gracious Providence first led us to discover, and endeavour to put an end to, the manifold injuries inflicted on the negro race, it was then this argument was first used—“ that the abolition of the slave trade would ruin the West Indies.” Old men, your Lordship well knows, are stated by a great ancient author, with whom your Lordship is well acquainted, to be naturally prone to speak of the incidents of their younger years. It was, I have already said, when our proceedings first began for the abolition of the slave trade in (1788 or 9), that we were confronted by this assertion, that “ abolition of the slave trade would be ruin:” and I mention it the rather, because the case furnishes two most important arguments for our use at present. First, it will prove how little people are to be trusted when they are blinded by prejudice and self-interest: and still more, secondly, how false the most confident predictions of ruin from any intended measure of improvement really prove in the result. When the light of Heaven had first been shot into that den of darkness, the Slave Trade, in all its varieties of guilt and misery, I well remember the horror of the House of Commons, on hearing of that part of it which respects the situation

of the slaves, in what was called the Middle Passage, during their transportation from Africa to the West Indies. The House could not then wait the slow result of the inquiry concerning the cessation of the slave trade altogether, and resolved *immediately* to adopt measures for rendering the condition of the slaves more tolerable while on shipboard. No sooner did we begin to examine into that condition, than merchants of the greatest respectability—men of wealth and station in society—declared that all our ideas of the slaves being uncomfortable were totally erroneous; that though they might suffer at first from being taken from their country and their friends, their accommodations were all that could be desired; they were lodged in suitable apartments; their food was such as suited their peculiar tastes and habits; after their meals they engaged in games of chance; the song and the dance were promoted: in short, so happy were they, that the arrival of a Guinea-ship in the harbours of the West Indies was known by the sounds of the music and the merriment of her human cargo! My Lord, what was the fact? To express it in the emphatic language of Lord Grenville—"the slave-ship was found to contain a greater condensation of human suffering, than it had ever before been supposed possible to enclose within the same dimensions." But still more, said the slave-merchant, if you pass any of these regulations, the expenses of the voyage will be increased—the trade now hangs by a thread, and the ship-owner will infallibly be ruined. The Bill, however, *was passed*, and only a very short time had elapsed before it was universally acknowledged to have been one of the greatest benefits the merchants had ever received.

"Nor were the predictions of our opponents less completely falsified in the case of the abolition of the slave trade. They with one voice declared that it would be impossible to enforce the execution of the law, even by the whole fleet of England, such opportunities for smuggling were everywhere afforded. But if it could be possible, the ruin of the islands must inevitably follow. And this declaration was contained in a communication from the legislature of Jamaica, which actually crossed in its passage to Europe the vessel that was carrying out to the colonies the news of the abolition having actually taken place. Well, what was the consequence? In that instance also, but a few years past, and almost without a dissenting voice, it was acknowledged that the measure had been highly beneficial: and I have been lately reassured of the fact by the gentleman opposite to me, recently come from the West Indies, that it is now declared in common parlance that I have been the greatest friend of the West Indies. Why, then, may we not hope that their prediction of the ruin, which they say would follow from the emancipation of the slaves, may also be as erroneous?"

"Again, it was urged against us, strongly and repeatedly, that the abolition would inevitably occasion insurrections in the islands, and thereby the massacre of the whites. It really seems quite providential that there have been fewer insurrections of any real and serious amount, since the abolition took place, than almost ever before during an equal period. But let it not be supposed that all the dangers here



are on one side. The mortality among our troops might be dwelt upon, with too much cause. But I do not wish to dwell on this topic; though I must remark that it is *most unreasonable* (to give it the softest name) that we do not employ Black regiments, who, I have been assured by many general officers, are as good troops as could be employed. But, in truth, the dangers of the islands, from various causes connected with their neighbours in Hayti and the French colonies, are of immense amount. Our colonies appear to me like that scene of verdure and beauty which displays itself on the exterior of one of the volcanic mountains. All without is promising and smiling: but you can already hear low and fearful mutterings and growlings from the inward workings of the discordant elements; and while all appears to be security and comfort, they may break forth and waste all around with one irresistible course of havoc and desolation. Every motive therefore conspires to urge us to proceed resolutely in our present course, and it has become more clear than ever, that any idea of expecting that the Colonial Assemblies will take the matter honestly into their hands, is utterly absurd and monstrous. Can it be reasonable to expect that they will follow the course you prescribe to them, when they frankly tell you that every step they advance towards the ultimate point, is in itself an evil, and that their arrival at the intended close would be their utter ruin?

“But there is another recent event which proves this point, if possible, even still more clearly, and one which I must say reflects dishonour on many men of high rank and great influence. I allude to the chiefs of the West Indians in this country. When Mr. Canning brought forward, in the year 1823, his measures of amelioration,—in which, though not at all what we desired, there certainly were many excellent regulations which would have had a most beneficial effect in improving the condition of the slaves, and preparing the way for their ultimate enjoyment of liberty,—the chief West Indians both in and out of Parliament then joined him. His measures were unanimously passed by both Houses of Parliament; and the West Indians in this country recommended them to their friends on the other side of the Atlantic, as being highly conducive to the real well-being of the planters as well as to the comfort of the slaves. And now, could it be believed, that the Colonial Assemblies having all opposed Mr. Canning’s resolutions in almost every particular, in defiance of the urgent representations of their friends in England, those friends have now completely changed their language, and have joined the West Indian Assemblies in opposing the measures which they formerly had so strongly recommended to their support! After this, is it not undeniably manifest that we must take the matter into our own hands? The people of England must do this work of mercy. The voice of the country must be raised. It has been raised; and I trust that it will have its just effect on the Councils of the Nation, and will prevail on Parliament no longer to delay the striking off of the fetters of the slave, and bringing him to the enjoyment of the just rights of his nature. Much might be said on the opposition made to Mr. Canning’s proposed regulations. There was one especially to which he trusted no one could object—the disuse of the driving

whip for enforcing labour in the field, and still more for the punishment of the female sex. He had been made indeed to believe that it was only used as a badge of authority by the driver, like the Lord Mayor's sword, or the mace of the Speaker of the House of Commons, a relic of ancient times. So he had been assured by his West Indian friends and acquaintances; and it had been asserted confidently in the House of Commons. But no sooner did his recommendation to desist from its use reach the Colonies, than with one voice they declared they could not do without it, and more particularly they contended for continuing to use it upon the *females*. Shame! shame! to those who can so forget the claims of that better part of the human species. In truth, our present Secretary of State has had a very hopeless task in his correspondence with the West Indian Islands. But it is due both to Mr. Canning and to Mr. Huskisson to say, that though not acting up to the extent of our wishes or of their duty, they did in some cases resist the almost unnatural applications they received from the West Indians; more especially one for remitting the punishment of one of the most cruel and barbarous acts that ever was perpetrated by a human being, when such remission was earnestly desired by the Governor of the colony, who declared that the guilty parties were highly respectable people—that during their imprisonment, which he wished to be shortened, they were visited by the whole community, and were indeed very humane and well-disposed people. I allude to the case of the Mosses in the Bahamas: and I cannot conceive any document that can throw more light than that which is afforded by the account of this whole transaction, on the state of society in our colonial settlements, and on the feelings of even the better part of the people concerning the mutual rights of the masters and slaves.—The gentleman opposite to me has strongly enforced our obligation to give full compensation to those who may be injured by emancipation. I have never denied that their claims should be fairly considered, and that, after a full and fair examination into particulars, any losses fairly chargeable on the effects of the measures Parliament should adopt, in carrying into execution our principles, should be fairly made good to them. Yet much is to be said on this subject. I cannot think that those proprietors who, during even the latter period of this long contest, have been investing their property in the South American settlements, merely as a matter of gainful speculation—greatly to the injury of our own old colonies—that they should be considered as standing on the same ground with the inhabitants of our old islands that have gone with us through our long national contests, who possess their estates, many of them by old inheritance, and who therefore cannot be considered as in the same degree answerable for the support of the obnoxious system. But one reason why I have said less on this subject is, that the greater part of the West Indians are already almost insolvent—at least the depreciation of their property has been greater than any one could possibly conceive; and therefore to do real justice, all their claims should be accurately weighed, and then I grant that as the crime was common, so also should be the penalty.

*Let us then proceed, my Lord, with renewed energy in carrying into execution one of the greatest acts of mercy that a people had*

*it ever in their power to perform.* Above all, let us remember, it is thus only that we can communicate to the poor wretched slaves the greatest of all blessings, by introducing among them not only civilization and knowledge, but, through an acquaintance with their bibles, the blessed hopes which christianity holds out to all the sons of men. And I will indulge the hope that, as in the former instances I lately specified, we all *may* here also one day rejoice together in contemplating the happiness *we* may have been the blessed instruments of conferring on these poor degraded outcasts of society. But let us all remember that *we here have no option.* Our faculties are given to us, not as a property, but as a trust; and we are bound at our peril to forbear availing ourselves of the opportunities Providence may place within our reach of doing justice and shewing mercy,—of lessening the miseries and augmenting the happiness of our species. Let us only act with an earnestness and a perseverance worthy of the cause in which we are engaged. The blessing of Heaven will recompense us; and we shall have wiped away a stain justly to be regarded as the foulest blot that ever dishonoured the annals of a free and enlightened people.”

After Mr. Wilberforce had sat down, the meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. J. Davies, of Rodborough, the Rev. E. Wilson, the Rev. W. Elliot, of Devizes, and John Shepherd, Esq., of Frome.

The regular business of the meeting having been thus gone through, Mr. Caldecot, who had at intervals repeated his interruptions of the proceedings, now contended that his motion should be brought in as an amendment to the resolution. The paper was read from the chair, and Mr. Caldecot was proceeding with some further irrelevant remarks,—when the Rev. Archdeacon Moysey rose, and remarked that as the sense of several of the speakers was favourable to a remuneration for such losses as could be actually proved to arise from abolition; and as, moreover, the exact nature of that compensation, and the manner in which it could be effected, was not to be decided here, but in Parliament, it might perhaps be more expressive of the general feeling, and more consonant to sound policy, to add a clause to the petition itself, expressive of our confidence in the justice of Parliament, and our wish to protect as far as possible the established interests of individuals and property in our colonies. This proposal was acceded to; and Mr. Caldecot, and the other West Indian gentlemen present expressed their approbation of the principle of the petition, as thus amended, and declared that they would readily sign it.

The petition thus concurred in by the West India party at Bath, after expressing the deep disappointment of the petitioners at the results of previous attempts to mitigate slavery and promote its ultimate extinction.—“results,” it is added, “which have clearly convinced the petitioners that no effectual means for the relief of the slave population are to be expected at the hands of the colonial legislatures,” concludes by praying the House “forthwith to adopt such measures as may secure the complete abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions at the earliest possible period,—consistently with the established rights of individuals and property in our colonies.”

## 27. BRISTOL.

While the Bath Anti-Slavery meeting was thus distinguished by an amicable compromise between the abolitionists and the West Indians, a very different scene was enacted on the same day at Bristol. A public meeting, convened by advertisement, for petitioning Parliament on this great question, was held on the 22d of October, in the Assembly Room of that city; and long before the hour announced for the chair to be taken, the large apartment was completely filled. A very considerable number of highly respectable ladies were present.

In explanation of the scene that ensued, it is necessary to notice, that on the preceding day a placard had been posted up throughout the city, calling upon "The Friends of the Trade of Bristol—of Order—of all Sacred Institutions—of the Laws—of the Church—of the State—and of Practical as well as Theoretical Emancipation, to attend the public Meeting;" and announcing that it was the intention of the subscriber to bring forward some measures, having for their object the accomplishment of the great end in view, "without injury to any party." This appeal, and a letter to the same effect, which was circulated principally among tradesmen employed by the West India interest, were signed "Christopher Claxton." This individual is the captain of a West India trader, and had rendered himself conspicuous as an active opponent of Mr. Protheroe, at the late contested election in Bristol. The announcement therefore of his purpose to oppose the views of the abolitionists had the intended effect of drawing together to the meeting a number of persons, who, from various motives, are inimical to the emancipation of the slaves. This party, among whom were several sailors, or persons dressed in sailors' clothes, having mustered in considerable strength, took possession of the benches in the body of the hall.

At twelve o'clock, the gentlemen who were to conduct the proceedings, having taken their station in front of the platform, which was crowded with persons of the first respectability, Richard Ash, Esq. was called to the chair. This gentleman introduced the business by an appropriate address—not however without considerable interruption from the uproar caused by the West India party. Mr. W. T. Blair\* then rose to move the first resolution and address the

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\* This gentleman, a retired civil servant of the East India Company, and now residing in the vicinity of Bristol, has ably advocated the abolition of slavery, at several recent meetings in the south-west of England. He became practically acquainted with the evils of slavery during two years' residence at the Cape of Good Hope; a colony where, although the system is milder, especially as regards the exaction of labour, than in the British sugar colonies, it nevertheless produces its usual fruits of bitterness, in the demoralization of the white colonists and the degradation and wretchedness of the slaves. Mr. Blair is one of several very able and intelligent coadjutors who have spontaneously come forward at this eventful period to give their valuable testimony and efficient support to the cause of early and total abolition, and who have grudged neither personal exertion nor pecuniary expense in promoting the diffusion of correct information and right principles on this great question throughout the British empire.

meeting, but was rudely prevented by Mr. Claxton, who pertinaciously insisted on being heard first, in opposition to the decision of the chairman and the opinion of the great majority of the assembly. This insolent pretension was supported by his West India "gang" with the most outrageous violence and vociferation, the authority of the chair and all decent order being set at defiance. Mr. Blair, in order that the business might proceed, expressed his willingness to concede to Mr. Claxton the privilege of first addressing the meeting—but this concession instead of allaying the tumult, was vociferously hailed as a victory by the intrusive faction; and such was the uproar that Mr. Claxton himself, seeing the indignation of the meeting effectually roused against him and his partizans, entreated them, but in vain, to hear Mr. Blair. The disorder increased, and several personal conflicts taking place, the ladies became alarmed for their safety and rushed towards the platform, over which they were handed, and immediately hastened to quit the scene of disturbance. It being now apparent that the object of the West India party was to produce a tumult and prevent the business from going forward, the Chairman, by the advice of several gentlemen, quitted the chair, and announced that the meeting was dissolved. Several of the adverse party encouraged by the result of their opposition, now rushed forward and attempted to take possession of the platform, and being opposed, a serious scuffle was about to commence, when Mr. Claxton, apparently somewhat ashamed of the ruffian conduct of those he had called to support him, agreed to withdraw with the Chairman and the Committee.

Still, however, the meeting shewed no inclination to disperse, but rather, animated with high resentment by this audacious attempt of the West Indian party to disorganize and defeat their measures, appeared determined not to give way. At length Mr. Acland succeeded in allaying the tumult, and in persuading the audience to elect another chairman and proceed with the business for which they had assembled. This proposal was carried by acclamation, the West Indian faction were constrained to give way, and the Rev. Mr. Roaf was called to the chair. The meeting was then addressed successively by Messrs. Acland, Tripp, Hall, Howells, Fry, Lovell, Cossens, Dight, &c. and a series of energetic resolutions were drawn up on the spur of the moment, and passed by an immense majority, declaring, "that the period for the total extinction of slavery at the earliest possible period having now arrived, a petition be prepared, embodying the sentiments of this meeting, in order to its presentation to our Sovereign; praying his Majesty's most gracious direction to his ministers immediately to bring into the two houses of parliament a bill on this great question, which shall accord with the interests of humanity, the claims of justice, and the often expressed desires of the people of this country." The meeting then quietly separated.

"When we consider," says the *Bristol Mercury*, from which we have abridged the account of this meeting, "that the proceedings from the moment Mr. Roaf stepped into the chair, were conducted by individuals who, perhaps, with only one exception, attended without the remotest

attention of uttering their sentiments, and that the whole was an unpremeditated ebullition of feeling—we must say that the gentlemen are entitled to no inconsiderable degree of credit, for the ability they displayed, as well as for the readiness and firmness which they evinced on the occasion; and which, we should think, could only have resulted from a firm conviction that the cause they advocate is based on just principles."

To this just observation we shall only add, that the striking contrast displayed in the behaviour of the abettors of slavery to that of the friends of abolition, at this and several other Anti-Slavery meetings where the former have intruded and attempted to interrupt the proceedings, can hardly fail to open the eyes of many persons who have too long allowed themselves to be deluded by the oft-refuted fallacies and fabrications of the West India partizans. The system of Slavery was founded in robbery and outrage; it has been built up through long years of cruel oppression; and now, top-heavy and tottering to its fall under the weight of its own iniquities, its unscrupulous abettors vainly strive to prop it up by the rotten supports that have heretofore befriended them, but which now begin to moulder among their fingers—namely, by systematic deception, and by a mendacious audacity in reviling their opponents, and in the reiteration of detected falsehood, unprecedented in the annals of controversy.

#### 28. SECOND MEETING AT BRISTOL.

The friends of Abolition at Bristol, after the indecorous interruption of their proceedings on the 22d of October, determined that their constitutional privilege to petition the legislature should not thus be defeated; being convinced that with the exception of a small but interested party, the great body of their fellow-citizens entirely coincided with them in opinion on this important public question. Another Meeting was accordingly convened on the 9th of November, in the same place; and Richard Ash, Esq. the same gentleman who had formerly presided, was again called to the chair. Mr. Claxton, the West India champion, also, did not fail to attend, with his noisy retainers; who, though they did not succeed as before in totally interrupting and disarranging the proceedings, yet so far prevailed by tumult and uproar as to render the addresses of most of the speakers almost or altogether inaudible. The business of the meeting was, however, carried through, and a string of resolutions passed and a petition to Parliament voted by a large majority, praying for the utter extinction of Slavery. The meeting was successively addressed by Mr. Lunell, the Rev. John Leifchild, Messrs. Howells, Brydges, Blair, George, Herapath, Sanders, and Claxton; but such was the clamour kept up by the West Indians, except when their own chieftain, Claxton, was speaking, that scarcely two consecutive sentences uttered by any other person could be heard beyond the platform.

Mr. Claxton harangued the audience at great length, and it is said with considerable declamatory talent. He maintained that the condition of the Slaves was comfortable—that they were generally well treated—and that much had been done by the colonial legislatures in ameliorating

the severity of former laws. He quoted the opinions of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson, and other statesmen in support of his assertions; and maintained that in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Demerara, St. Kitts, Nevis, &c. many beneficial enactments had been recently passed for abolishing Sunday markets, for promoting religious instruction, providing for age and sickness, and so forth. He contended that the Slaves were not yet qualified to receive freedom; but admitted that the Anti-Savery Society had done much towards their advancement in civilization. In fact, his speech, as reported in the Bristol papers, is a strange inconsistent farrago of candid admission, preposterous assertion, and dauntless denial; and it only deserves notice as another specimen of the tactics of that party of which this man is so zealous a partizan. After allowing that slavery *in the abstract* is contrary to the spirit of our national institutions—that its existence in the dominions of Great Britain is a blot in our escutcheon—nay more, “that the law that tolerates the absolute dominion of one man over another is an abominable and disgusting law,”—he instantly adds, “While mentioning these as my objections, let it not be understood that I question the planter’s right to his Slave, or his absolute control over him, any more than I question his humanity generally. Nor do I question the comfort of the Slaves themselves, or their perfectly contented condition, before you, through your missionaries, made a crusade across the Atlantic, and worried them into a different belief, and robbed them of much of their hard earnings for payments to love-feasts and to keep class, which rather than forfeit, they would commit robbery to support.”

To reply seriously to such stuff as this is of course out of the question: and yet this man is the recognized leader and champion of the West India party in Bristol!

He concluded by moving two resolutions, the first in favour of abolition, “with a fair and equitable regard to the rights of property involved;” the other containing a claim for “compensation for the value of the Slave before the agitation of this question reduced the same; and a security for the lands and works, in the event of free labour failing, provided the planter fairly tries the experiment, to be decided by constitutional authorities.” Of these resolutions the former was passed without opposition, being quite accordant with the principles of the meeting; the latter was thrown out by an amendment referring the subject of compensation to Parliament.

## 29. DERBY.

On the 23d of October, a Meeting to petition for the Abolition of Slavery, was held at Derby, in the Town-hall. W. Newton, Esq. late Mayor of the Borough, having been called to the chair, opened the proceedings by an impressive address. He was followed by W. Evans, Esq. who took a masterly review of the present state of the question, of the actual condition of the Slaves in our West India Colonies, of the failure of all attempts to obtain real mitigation of the system, and of the necessity of urging the legislature to adopt effectual measures for speedy abolition. The Rev. Messrs. J. Thorpe, R. Simpson, G. B. Blackley, Dr.

Forrester, and Messrs. Gawthorn, Longdon, and Strutt, also successively addressed the meeting.

### 30. CHELMSFORD.

On the same day (Oct. 23), a Meeting to petition for Abolition was held in the County-hall, Chelmsford; the Hon. J. J. Strutt, in the chair. The meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. J. Hunt, Rev. Jos. Grey, Dr. Forrester, Messrs. G. Stephen, Knox, Pownall, Candler, and Copland, in able and impressive speeches.

### 31. BIRMINGHAM.

On the 26th of October, a Meeting to petition for Abolition was held at Birmingham; the Rev. Edward Burn, in the chair. The meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Archdeacon Hodson, the Rev. Messrs. Moseley, James, Marsh, Kennedy, Garbett, Mayers, Thompson, M'Donnell, East, Hutton, Morgan, and Crowther; and by Messrs. Smith, Turner, Cadbury, Corn, Sturge, and Harris. Many of the speeches were very able, and that of the Rev. Mr. Marsh embraced a most masterly and comprehensive review of the question in almost every point; but it is impossible to find room for an abstract of the arguments, and it admits not of partial quotation. The following are four of the seven resolutions unanimously adopted at this meeting, and which may afford a fair sample of the sentiments that pervaded it.

“That the obstacles which have been raised by the colonial assemblies generally, and by the planters individually, not only to the accomplishment of the recorded views and recommendations of the legislature, but to the endeavours made by various denominations of Christians to improve the moral and religious condition of the Slaves, have still further strengthened the conviction of this meeting, that actual emancipation must precede any successful efforts to raise the character of the negro population.

“That, impressed with this conviction, and believing it to be a duty to use our utmost exertions to put an end to a system which so flagrantly violates every social and religious obligation, this meeting deems it right to adopt the principle of immediate emancipation of the Slaves, accompanied by such temporary regulations alone, as the wisdom of Parliament may deem essential for their well being, and the preservation of social order.

“That this meeting feels the less hesitation in adopting this principle, inasmuch as it considers it to have been proved by experience, that, under such regulations, Slavery may be abolished with perfect safety.

“That, although this meeting is of opinion that no injury, with respect to property, will be ultimately sustained by the planters, yet, as the nation has so long tacitly sanctioned the continuance of this evil, this meeting is willing to recognize the principle of compensation for such losses as may be proved to have been necessarily caused by the measures adopted for changing the condition of the Slaves, and for which Parliament may consider the planters to have an equitable claim on this country.”

### 32. COUNTY OF RUTLAND.

On the 26th of October, a numerous County Meeting was held at Oakham, for the Abolition of Slavery; the Rev. C. Swann, of Riddlington, in the chair. After some appropriate introductory remarks from the chairman, Mr. George Stephen, of London, addressed the meeting



in a long and most impressive speech, in which he developed the system and effects of Slavery by numerous details of the misery and iniquity of which it is the unfailing source wherever it prevails. After relating many cases of cruelty and oppression in the West Indies, from recent authorities, the learned gentleman thus proceeded:—"It is often objected by our opponents, that we select every case of individual and peculiar guilt, as a ground of reproach to the West Indian community. But observe the difficulty under which we labour. We know cases sufficiently numerous to prove such guilt to be systematic and not individual. If, however, we divulge them, without declaring names, we are charged with falsehood: if we give up our authority, our informants are subjected to every persecution that malignity can devise, and others are deterred from speaking. Again, if we state facts upon information not official, we are threatened with indictments, actions at law, and all the array of legal prosecution. But I have it in my power, I might almost say by special providence, to communicate to you on authority that cannot be questioned, a history of the interior of a colonial plantation. It belongs to Mr. Wells, of Piercefield, Monmouthshire; and I mention his name without hesitation, because I am able at the same time to declare that he was not less ignorant than yourselves of the circumstances I am about to state. In the year 1812, he let his estate in St. Kitt's, with a gang of 140 negroes. In 1816, their numbers were reduced to 108, and in 1819, to 86, showing a loss in seven years of not less than 54 lives out of 140, not including births in the interim. (Expressions of horror.) It is indeed incredible; but I state the fact on the authority of the overseer himself. It is recorded in his own handwriting, in a book in my father's possession, the record being kept as the foundation of parochial returns. Have I not redeemed my pledge that I would prove the system of colonial treatment to be a system of *daily*, even *hourly*, murder? How, then, can we, without the guilt of murder, sanction or acquiesce in its continuance for a single hour? or by what right can we substitute a gradual for immediate emancipation?" (applause.) Mr. Stephen then proceeded to quote from the same book, several cases in which brutal, though not in colonial parlance, *illegal* punishment, had been inflicted by the lessee upon Mr. Wells's gang, and had led to this destruction of life. "But," he proceeded, "dreadful as this narrative is, I have yet a tale of horror to unfold, compared with which all that has been stated is insignificant,—a tale so dreadful that I would pardon you for disbelieving me if I stated it even on my own authority. What I have already said, related to the West India colonies: we have another colony where slavery obtains in a yet more aggravated form. The system is indeed the same; the characteristics of slavery, wherever it is found, are always the same. About four years ago, I was professionally employed by Mr. Buxton to examine the state of slavery in the Mauritius, with a view to a parliamentary enquiry. I conducted the examination under the sanction of government, and every fact that I state has been communicated by witnesses who were cautioned against exaggeration, informed that they might hereafter be called upon to confirm their statements on oath, and were required to subscribe their names to the statements. It is on this testimony that I give my

tales of horror. My witnesses are nearly 300 in number,—a number alone sufficient to prove, not cases of individual, but of systematic depravity." Mr. Stephen proceeded to quote the words of several witnesses, all to the same effect, and tending to prove that the state of slavery was one of the lowest degradation and misery. He then gave thanks to show the accuracy of their general descriptions. "I am not," said Mr. Stephen, "deputed by any society to address you. I speak as the advocate of a class who in *this* instance have no advocate but me,—no tribunal to which they can appeal but *you*. As their advocate I know no fastidious delicacy, no squeamishness of feeling that should deter me. It is a shame to speak even of those things which are done by them in secret; but if I do not mention them, how is the secret to be exposed, and how the evil to be remedied? They, not I, must bear the blame." He then proceeded to detail numerous cases of atrocious cruelty perpetrated in the Mauritius; and in every instance mentioned the names of the witnesses, several of whom were commissioned officers. We cannot here give any of these details, but refer our readers to a condensed summary of this evidence in No. 44 of the Reporter. This speech, which occupied about two hours in the delivery, excited in the audience a very strong abhorrence of the evils of Slavery.

The meeting was subsequently addressed by the Rev. A. Jenour of Harringworth, the Rev. J. Wilson of Laxton, the Rev. Mr. Green, of Uppingham, and the Rev. J. Wing of Cottesmore. Strong resolutions were passed, and a petition agreed to "for the immediate abolition of slavery."

### 33. DURHAM.

On the same day, (Oct. 26,) a meeting was held at Durham, in the Town Hall; the Mayor, T. Chipchase, Esq. in the chair. The subject was discussed by Dr. Fenwick, and Messrs. Shipperdson and Granger, in speeches of considerable length and great ability. The meeting was also addressed more briefly by the Rev. Messrs. Gilly, Matheson, Stratton, and Mr. Bramwell; and appropriate resolutions were unanimously passed.

### 34. HALIFAX.

On the 27th of October, a meeting to address the King and petition Parliament was held at Halifax; the Rev. Charles Musgrave, Vicar, in the chair. The business was opened by an admirable address from the Rev. chairman, which concluded with the following observations:—"Difficulties, I can well conceive, must await the final settlement of this question. But we ask for no wrong; we ask for no act of spoliation in our tenderness for the slave. If under the protection of existing laws interests have grown up which we hope soon to see expire, we are prepared to abide by such compensation as the wisdom of parliament may adjudge. But, while we speak of reparation, let us bear in mind ourselves, and respectfully but urgently press it on the remembrance of the legislature, that reparation is primarily due to the slave. (*loud cheers*.)—The slave we have deeply wronged. His wrongs we are bound to redress. And whatever may be the difficulties of the task, we are per-

sueded they admit of adjustment—a reasonable and righteous adjustment: indemnity, as far as such may be due to the master; and, *at all costs*, deliverance to the slave.” (*Long continued applause.*)

The meeting was successively addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Pridie, Farrar, Turner, and Lusher; and by Messrs. Browne, Swale, and Baldwin. Several of the speeches were very impressive; but we can only admit the following passage from the address of the Rev. R. L. Lusher, a Wesleyan minister:—“A distinction has been made between Slavery and the Slave Trade, and we have taken great praise to ourselves, as a nation, that at last the latter is abolished. But, sir, I hold with you, that the slave trade cannot properly be said to be abolished, while it exists in its present form in the West Indies. Is not the infernal traffic carried on there? Are not immortal beings still bought and sold like cattle? Look over a West India newspaper, for instance, and mark the advertisements you see there. Look at the incongruous mixture of human beings for sale with timber, cattle, fish, and other articles. First comes a cargo of cow hides, then three or four or half a dozen fine, healthy, young male negroes. Next, perhaps, is a tempting offer of a prime lot of Canadian horses or pigs, and then three or four young female negroes, followed by a lot of Nova Scotia dried fish. What a disgrace to the English nation are advertisements and proceedings like these! Well may this vile system be denounced, (as it has been this day,) as unchristian and inhuman. (*cheers.*) Passing over these points, where is its policy? What national interests are promoted by it? It is a system opposed to all sound principles of legislation—and it is inconsistent with the well-being of every state by which it is tolerated. Do our countrymen, or rather the colonists of our West India islands, complain of their drooping commercial interests? No wonder that they are smitten with blasting and mildew in this region of slavery, ‘which has become the dark habitation of horrid cruelty.’ The curses of millions rest on those islands; and the judgments of Him who is the Avenger of oppression, hang over them like a thunder cloud. I have never lived in that land of slavery; but I have had an opportunity of judging of the intellectual capacity of the blacks, from a residence of several years in North America; and I can state, in confirmation of the preceding speakers, that ‘give them liberty, and teach them religion, and you make them men.’ You make them better servants than ever they were slaves. I speak experimentally. (*hear, hear.*) I have had them in the domestic relations of life as nurses for my children, and in other situations, as well as under my pastoral care; and I repeat, give them liberty, and you make way for their moral and intellectual elevation;—give them liberty, lest just heaven should permit them to redress their own wrongs, or the Almighty Power, who has said ‘vengeance is mine, and I will repay it,’ should undertake their cause.—‘Give them liberty!’—this cry, I trust, finds a responsive echo in every heart in this assembly;—it has become the unanimous voice of the British nation; and, I trust, it will soon be the rallying cry in the British senate.—*Give them liberty!* let this prayer be laid at the foot of the British throne; but above all, let it ascend, in fervent aspirations, to the God of Britain, and who shall dare to say no?” (*Loud cheering.*)

## 35. CHESTERFIELD.

An Anti-Slavery meeting was held at Chesterfield, on the 28th of October, and was numerously attended; the Rev. T. Hill in the chair. The Rev. John Thorpe, of Wigginton, who had been invited to attend the meeting, in order to describe the present character of slavery in Jamaica, gave the result of his personal observations, in a detailed delineation of the practical effects of the system. We have already given a summary of his valuable testimony in No. 71. After some appropriate observations by the Rev. Messrs. Mudie and Wallace, and Messrs. Booker and Muggleston, a petition for the abolition of slavery, which the Mayor had already signed, was unanimously adopted.

## 36. SALISBURY.

On the same day, (October 28.) a very numerous meeting of the friends of Negro emancipation was held at Salisbury. The Very Rev. the Dean presided, and opened the proceedings by an excellent address. He expressed his deep regret that such meetings were necessary to arouse public attention to this most important subject. He joined in the feeling which was now excited through the country, and hailed it as an omen of ultimate and complete success. He declared that the venerable Bishop of the Diocese was as warmly interested in this question now, as when, several years ago, he stood forward as one of the first and ablest writers against slavery. There were difficulties connected with the subject, but not greater than those connected with all extended plans; the most formidable arose out of interest and prejudice, and it was the duty of every noble and generous mind, to disentangle itself from these—labouring after a clear and just view of the subject, and deliberating upon it with all that seriousness which the dearest interests of 800,000 of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects so justly demand. In condemning slavery he made no charge against individuals—he denounced the system itself, not merely on theory but as practically exhibited—as founded on a cruel invasion of natural rights—hostile to humanity, justice, and religion. The original crime of men-stealing was perpetuated in the claims which West Indians made to a property in their fellow-creatures, as mere chattels; buying and selling, and driving and punishing men and women also without any control. He could scarcely speak with any degree of moderation on the subject. He considered that every one should raise his voice against it, and declare that this power should be continued no longer. No such state as that of West Indian slavery had existed in any previous age of the world, and it only existed now because it was not fully known. It was a state opposed to the progress of christianity; for, though through the pious labours of Christian ministers of various denominations, not a few slaves had become partakers of the Gospel, this was *in spite* of the system of slavery, and not at all by its assistance—since all its effects were to degrade and brutalize both blacks and whites. The subject had now been discussed for several years; recommendations had been tried by parliament, but they had been scornfully rejected by the colonial assemblies. The question was, therefore, now thrown upon the country; and he had

no doubt that the government was well disposed to act with energy, provided it was supported by the voice of the country. He would leave the question of compensation to the decision of parliament, when the great act of substantive justice, the enfranchisement of the negro shall have been determined. We were called upon to do this as a duty to ourselves, as an example in the eyes of the rest of Europe, and to avert those calamities, which we may expect will otherwise follow us—being assured that on nations as well as on individuals the blessing of God can only rest where the obligations of justice and religion are fulfilled. He hoped therefore every one would do his duty; and if any gentleman present should differ in opinion from those who would address the meeting, he would readily hear their opinions, if expressed temperately, and to the point.

The address of Dean Pearson was followed up and supported by animated and argumentative speeches by the Rev. Messrs. Chatfield, Sleigh, Elliott, Johnson, Good, Saffery, Simmonds, Granger, and Radford; and by Messrs. Atkinson, Baldwin, and Phillips. Appropriate resolutions were passed and a petition agreed upon.

### 37. CALNE.

An Anti-Slavery Meeting was held at Calne, on the 1st of November. The Rev. W. Money was called to the chair, and opened the business by an appropriate address. He was followed in a long and eloquent speech by the Rev. C. Townsend, Rector of the parish, a devoted and indefatigable friend of emancipation. The Rev. W. Lisle Bowles, a magistrate of the county and a canon of the church, and eminent also as a literary man, delivered a most impressive address in aid of the good cause which he had supported with his pen in early youth. The other speakers at this meeting were the Rev. Messrs. Elliott and Duboulay, and Messrs. Blair and Baldwin. The two gentlemen last named had both been personal witnesses of the condition of the Slaves in our colonies. The following are two of the clauses of the petition adopted at this highly respectable and interesting meeting:—

“That your Petitioners feel assured no circumstances of pretended expediency or of policy, can for a moment justify, in the sight of God or man, the continuance of a state of society like that which obtains in the Slave Colonies of the British Empire;—a state of society in which human beings are goaded to labour, under a tropical sun, by the lashes of the cart-whip—in which they are exposed to dreadful lacerations and cruel tortures, at the arbitrary will of brutal drivers and overseers—in which the very women are subjected to indecent exposure and to public scourging—in which from the excess of labour required of them, the great body of the people are virtually deprived of the Sabbath, whether as a day of rest from their toil, or as one to be devoted by them to the duties and services of Religion;—a state of society, in which husbands and wives, parents and children, may be torn asunder for ever, without an option on their part, or a moment's warning;—in short, a state of society so demoralized, that amongst its victims Christian rites and domestic ties are comparatively unknown—in which matrimony is the exception, licentiousness the rule! When your Petitioners contemplate such a state of society as this, they cannot but feel convinced, that it contains within itself no renovating principle—no elements of self-adjustment or improvement—but on the contrary, tends to corrupt and debase all who come in contact

with it, and that little hope can be indulged of any salutary changes being effected by those who participate in it and become blinded to its enormities.

"Your Petitioners therefore respectfully, but most earnestly pray your honourable House, without further delay, to make such enactments as shall at once and for ever put an end to British Colonial Slavery, and thereby effectually remove the evils they have enumerated; that they may no longer be partakers of a system which is a reproach to their character, both as Britons professing to value freedom, and as Christians professing to regard the doctrines and precepts of religion. And while your Petitioners once more decidedly deprecate any further appropriation of the public money to the upholding of Slavery as it now exists, either directly or indirectly, by means of drawbacks, bounties, or protecting duties; yet, after the desirable changes shall have taken place, they declare their readiness cheerfully to contribute their share to make good all losses necessarily consequent upon such changes, that may be sustained by individuals according to any arrangement that to the wisdom of Parliament shall seem equitable and just."

### 38. WATFORD.

On the same day (Nov. 1st), a very numerous public meeting was held at Watford, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the abolition of Slavery; the Hon. Granville Ryder in the chair. Among the individuals who addressed the meeting were, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Serjeant Pell, the Rev. Messrs. Rosdew, Rector, and Blackmore, Curate of Bushy,—the Rev. John Edwards, of Watford, Josiah Conder, Esq.\* — Chambers, Esq. of Harrow Weald, and other gentlemen from the immediate vicinity. The speech of Dr. Lushington was powerfully impressive; and the interest excited was unexampled in that town.

### 39. LINCOLN.

On the 10th of November, a numerous and most respectable meeting was held in the Guildhall, Lincoln, to petition for the abolition of Slavery. The Mayor, Thomas Winn, Esq. presided; and the meeting was successively addressed by the Hon. Mr. Melville, the Rev. Mr. Wayland, of Bassingham, the Rev. Messrs. Milner, Philp, Crapps, Clegg, Alderman Fowler, and Messrs. Cropper and Thorold.

On the same evening, another Meeting was held for establishing an Anti-Slavery Society in Lincoln, at which several of the clergy of the establishment and the principal dissenting ministers attended and took an active part.

### 40. BRIGHTON.

On the 16th of November, a public Meeting was held at Brighton, in order to petition the legislature for "the early and entire emancipation of the slaves in our Colonies," and also for forming an Anti-Slavery Society and a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association. S. F. Milford, Esq. was called to the chair; and the meeting was addressed at considerable length and with much intelligence by that gentleman, by Sir Thomas Blomefield, the Rev. J. N. Goulty, Rev. Mr. Geaden; and by Messrs. Glaisyer, Young, Wigpey, Bass, and Mr. F. Marten,

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\* Editor of the 'Eclectic Review,' and 'The Modern Traveller;' in both which highly respectable works Mr. Conder has ably and unweariedly advocated the cause of Negro Emancipation.

of Lewes. Sir Thomas Blomefield and Mr. Milford were elected Vice-Presidents of the new Anti-Slavery Society.

#### 41. BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

On the 19th of November, an Anti-Slavery meeting was held in the Guildhall, Bury; "the most numerous public meeting," says the 'Bury and Norwich Post,' "which has taken place in this town for many years." The interest was not a little enhanced by local excitement, occasioned by the publication, a few days previously, of a scurrilous pamphlet, libellously assailing the characters of the chief persons who were expected to advocate at this meeting the cause of Negro emancipation, and more especially those of the Rev. J. Orton, Wesleyan missionary, and Mr. Joseph Phillips, of Antigua, who had been invited to assist in the discussion of the subject. This pamphlet was understood (and has been since avowed) to be the production of Mr. Benjamin Greene, a well-known pro-slavery champion in that place. The writer did not, however, appear in person, but sent his friend, Mr. George Saintsbury, another zealous controversialist of the same party, to defend the cause of the West India planters.

The proceedings commenced by an address from the chairman, Mr. R. Dalton, who animadverted with just severity on the vile spirit and slanderous insinuations of the West India pamphlet. He was seconded by the Rev. Messrs. Armstrong and Jenla, the latter of whom strongly advocated measures for immediate emancipation.

Mr. Joseph Phillips, in a speech of considerable length, detailed the circumstances of his own persecution in Antigua, and gave his testimony against the evils of slavery. He remarked that he appeared as a speaker at that meeting under peculiar feelings, as it was in consequence of a controversy between Mr. Clarkson and an inhabitant of this place, (Mr. Greene,) that he had suffered imprisonment for 375 days, and ruin, —not only immediate ruin, but, as far as his enemies could effect it, prospective ruin, by the blackening of his character, and by endeavouring to prevent his getting a mouthful of bread to support his starving wife and children. They had resolved to crush him because he advocated the cause of the unfortunate beings whose sufferings he had witnessed during a residence of twenty-seven years in the West Indies. In consequence of the sudden death of a Moravian missionary, who was secretary to a society established in England for relieving the deserted and diseased slaves of Antigua, he had filled the office for four years without fee or reward. The society had existed twenty-four years, and in that time, as was shewn in a memorial to the Governor and Sir G. Murray, it had expended 2500*l.* in relieving destitute and diseased slaves, deserted by their masters. The negroes were subject to a loathsome disease called the black scurvy, and, when attacked, were often cast out and allowed to beg about the streets. He had often been called upon as a jury-man to sit upon inquests on their bodies. The Rev. R. Holberton had established a society for the purpose of giving a daily meal to those poor creatures; and when he (Mr. P.) left the island, there were about one hundred and ten of them on the list, sixty of whom were destitute, diseased, and deserted slaves, and these belonged to only one part

of the island. When brought before a committee of the House of Assembly, Mr. Lee, one of the members, asked why he would not give up his papers; to which he answered that he thought the committee had no right to demand them. Before Sir G. Murray's answer upon the case arrived, it was intimated that he would be discharged if he would apologize to the House of Assembly; but he refused to betray his trust, or to give encouragement to such inquisitorial proceedings. The demand was gradually reduced to the smallest description of apology. A Mr. Scotland was requested to speak to him; but he spurned the idea. At last they got a person to inform his wife that a mere note would satisfy them; but his answer was, that if a piece of waste paper would satisfy them he would not give it as an apology; and he was sure there was not an Englishman in the room who would not be of the same opinion. As his character had been aspersed by an inhabitant of this town, he would request the chairman to read a few testimonials. [These were accordingly handed to the chair, and read to the meeting. The first, which was signed by some of those very men who had committed him to prison, declared his character to be upright and unimpeachable. The next, signed by two Members of the Assembly and the Collector of the Customs, was dated April, 1830, and described him as a pious, honest, and industrious man, who, they were convinced, had been wickedly and unjustly slandered. A third was from a Justice of the Peace, of the same date, and bore testimony to his strict probity, conscientious feelings, and lowliness of character. A fourth was from the Rev. Mr. Newby, a Moravian missionary.] After these testimonials he would leave his cause in the hands of the meeting. He proceeded to observe that there was no effective law which provided support for decayed slaves in Antigua, the ameliorating law, which was so much boasted of, being a mere dead letter. The law provided that whereas slaves having no owners, or none to be discovered, often became incapable and disabled, the vestry might supply their wants at the public charge. But Mr. Newby had declared before the committee that he never knew there was such a law, and the whole sum disbursed by the treasurer of the island on this account did not exceed 100*l.* in twenty-five years, whilst the society to which he belonged had expended 2500*l.*, every farthing of which was accounted for, with the name of every individual to whom it had been paid. The law was intended to blind the Government and people of this country, and was of no more force than waste paper. There was an oath which ought to be taken by managers and proprietors of plantations, that they had duly distributed the full ratio of provisions, but in twenty-seven years he had never known a single instance of its being taken. He had lived on a plantation where it was the common practice of a manager to flog, and otherwise brutally maltreat women advanced in pregnancy, to chain negroes together, and in some instances to attach 56*lb.* weights to their feet. One of the negroes who had been sent to the chained gangs for some offence, had declared he would rather remain in jail all his life than return to his plantation. He knew some estates where the slaves were better treated, but in others they were still worse. Mr. Phillips then mentioned the case of seventeen slaves who ran away



from Sir Christopher Codrington's estate, owing to a new attorney having been appointed; and who were sentenced, some to three, and some to one month's imprisonment, and to receive thirty-nine lashes at two different periods. He had interceded in their behalf, being a fellow-sufferer in the same prison, but to no purpose. Some time after the manager was bound over for cruelty to a negro. He (Mr. Phillips) was in the Court-house when a person (whom he named) was brought up for trial under a charge of cruelly flogging a slave, in consequence of which he died; but there being no white or free witnesses against him, the murderer escaped with impunity: if 500 slaves had seen it they would not have been allowed to give evidence. Such is the law up to the present moment in Antigua. After mentioning the case of a man committed for *five years*, without warrant, who was released at his intercession, Mr. Phillips concluded by assuring the company that West India slavery was the same now as it ever had been.

Mr. G. Saintsbury requested to be heard in reply to Mr. Phillips, which was unanimously accorded to him. He maintained that slave evidence was by no means so generally excluded as had been represented; that the Barbadoes law of 1829, admitted the evidence of slaves against whites in all cases of murder, assault, &c. requiring only a certificate of baptism; and, even in England, no person was allowed to give evidence who was not acquainted with the nature of an oath. As for the detail of cruelties that had been given, in every instance the offence had been followed by a penalty; and what more could be expected in this country. If a case could be adduced in which the offender escaped with impunity, he would be the first to hold up his hand against the system.\* He admitted there were cases in which he should be grieved if friends of his were concerned; but as reference was often made to the Jamaica papers, he would read from the *Courant* of last September an advertisement which he hoped would go a little way in answer to the charge† that slaves were allowed to perish in the streets of disease. He then read an advertisement of a "Negro Hospital for Curable Diseases," which assured proprietors that the greatest attention would be paid to the negroes who might be placed in it. To shew that the practice of branding the slaves was not allowed, Mr. S. cited the case of a person tried in 1818, for branding his slave Amey in five places, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment; the Judge commented on his barbarity in the strongest terms, and Amey was declared free.‡ In another

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\* What does Mr. Saintsbury say to the cases referred to by Mr. Phillips—to the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges and his slave Kitty Hylton, and to many other recent ones detailed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*?

† The charge was made in reference to Antigua, and the facts detailed by Mr. Phillips. But as regards Jamaica, also, see Mr. Orton's statement, p. 74.

‡ In this very case the culprit, Joseph Boyden, was indicted not simply for *branding*, which is no legal offence in Jamaica, but for "*cruelly, maliciously and wantonly maltreating*, by *flogging*, and marking in five different parts of her body with the initials of his name and of his estate, a Sambo slave named Amey." But Mr. De la Beche, himself a Jamaica planter, at the same time that he refers to this flagrant act of cruelty in his late publication, *Notes on Jamaica*, admits the prevalence of branding, at a very recent period. Three slaves on his own estate were branded in 1822 or 1823; and the overseer by whose directions

case, of assault, the owner was fined 100*l.* and 10*l.* a-year ordered to be paid to the slave, who was declared free. No doubt there was cruelty in the West Indies, and where was there not? but it was competent to any individual to give information to the proper authorities; there was law to punish the offender, and if found guilty he would be punished. He declared from the bottom of his soul that he was not the advocate of slavery. There was not an individual present who would rejoice at its abolition more cordially than himself. If it were proposed to him to erect a state of slavery at the present day, he trusted they would believe that no one would receive the proposition with greater indignation than himself. But when he was called upon to alter a state of society which had existed for centuries, he must be allowed to point out the difficulty of accomplishing the task.

Mr. Orton requested Mr. Saintsbury to read the name affixed to the advertisement of the Negro Hospital; which being done, Mr. Orton observed, that the gentleman named was in immediate connexion with the Wesleyan Society, and the establishment was an act of almost individual charity. Mr. Saintsbury replied that he supposed the party did not insert the advertisement without reason to expect it would bring patients. Mr. Orton said the advertisement had appeared 100 times, and its object was to induce proprietors to send the negroes to a place where they would be treated with care at a low charge. It was in no way connected with the estates. He also stated that the slaves were actually branded; he had frequently seen them branded with a hot iron.

The Meeting was subsequently addressed by Rev Messrs. Elven, Freeman, Orton, Jones; and Messrs. Alexander, Bevan, Hall, and Bayley.

Although we have already given in Reporter, No. 69, a summary of Mr. Orton's evidence on West India Slavery, yet as the facts adduced by him on the present occasion were either new, or not before so specifically stated, being specially called forth to meet the assertions recently promulgated by the pro-slavery advocates, respecting the favourable condition of the slaves; and as we consider Mr. Orton's testimony, for the reasons formerly mentioned, (See No. 69, p. 442.) to be particularly valuable and trust-worthy, we make no apology for inserting the substance of his speech at the Bury meeting.—It had, he said, been remarked by the Chairman, that too much stress was laid by some speakers upon particular acts of cruelty. He did not insist upon such acts, except as evidence of the fruits of the system; but stood upon the higher ground that slavery was radically and thoroughly bad in its basis. He had often conversed with planters and slave owners

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it had been done, could not, it appears, be brought to punishment. The fact is, there is no law against this abominable practice, though it may be punished, as that or any other act may be, when it is accompanied by such circumstances of enormity as a jury of slave-holders may regard and punish as "cruel, wanton and malicious maltreatment." Branding is commonly performed by using a silver brand heated with burning spirits; and in this mode it may legally be inflicted by any ruffian on any man, woman, or child, placed under his authority; and "brutal characters," as Mr. de la Beche remarks, "when possessed of power will abuse it." The Jamaica Newspapers prove that branding is still common. See Negro Slavery Tracts, No. xv. 158, 159. See also Reporter, Vol. i. p. 254.

(amongst whom he knew many kind and humane men) and he had never found one so unreasonable as to attempt to defend that abominable system which deprived a man of the greatest blessings conferred upon him by his Maker.—The natural rights of liberty, property, and life, were inalienable so long as men acted in conformity with law and justice; but his eyes had beheld men sold in the market; he had seen human life (and he challenged any man to refute him) made a monstrous and murderous sacrifice at the shrine of avarice and cruelty; and the blood of their fellow creatures cried aloud to heaven for redress. Absolute power over a fellow creature would always degenerate into cruelty. It was vain to seek for what were called ameliorating laws from the legislative assemblies: he had seen too many instances where such laws had proved mere dead letters, and those who ought to be the guardians of the slaves had been the very persons by whom they had been most cruelly treated. He should tire the meeting were he to enter into a detail of those cruelties, and he did not mean to employ them as a principal part of his argument, but as so many exemplifications of the enormity of the system, and as a reason for urging at least its early and entire abolition. He would first take it as a whole, as a system of hard labour. The toil of the slave was not so excessive for its violent exertion, as in point of constancy and rapidity of motion. A gang of from thirty to fifty men were placed together, some not so strong as others, though he admitted they were generally selected, as nearly as they could be, of equal strength; but many were often weak or diseased. These slaves were placed in a line in the field, with drivers at equal distances, and were obliged to maintain that line throughout the day, so that those who were not quite so strong as the others were literally flogged up by the drivers; and this in a rapid and constant motion;—*rapidity* was its characteristic. In carrying manure the practice was the same. With regard to the time they were employed, he had endeavoured to make a correct calculation, and he thought it would be allowed that his statement was within the mark. He had taken great pains in observing the time when the negroes were called out in the morning, and the time when they left the field, and he believed they worked fifteen or sixteen hours on the average every day of the year. During crop-time, which lasted about half the year, from the time that they were called out, (usually by the crack of the whip,) till they left work, was at least eighteen hours. This he stated without fear of refutation. During the other part of the year the average was at least thirteen or fourteen hours. He maintained that this was cruelty and excessive labour, in a burning climate, where they well knew that such constant exertion was not necessary for subsistence. To obtain such a quantity of labour coercion was indispensable, and the driver accordingly was always armed with a whip. It had been said that the whip was a mere symbol of office, but this was arrant trifling. The missionaries had stood by, almost boiling over with indignation, whilst the driver was summarily punishing and lacerating the bodies of his fellow negroes, without any other whites than themselves to witness it. And this was in addition to the numerous punishments for petty offences at the close of the day. Even this might be more tolerable if the slave were remunerated for his toil, but not only was he not well provided

for, but he was obliged to make the greatest sacrifices for his bare subsistence. He admitted that twenty-six days in a year were allowed for the cultivation of their provision grounds. In the Leeward Islands, he knew, the negroes were partly fed from their masters' stores, but it was not so at Jamaica, except during crop, when they had not time to go to their provision grounds. At other times they had to go to a portion of mountainous ground, of no value for the cultivation of the cane, from five to fifteen miles, and in one instance that he had known, twenty miles distant. They were often so tired and dispirited, that they would not go, and were flogged to their own grounds by the driver; their grounds were often robbed or overrun with weeds; and he had known them to travel thirty miles, with a heavy load, on the Sunday, to sell the produce at a low rate in order to obtain the little comforts they required. It was said that the planters supplied their wants when sick, and it would be bad policy indeed if the same attention were not paid to them which any one present would pay to his horse if he were ill, but the negroes would often complain for some time before they were admitted to the hospital, or *hot-house*, and that, frequently, after being punished, as idle, for complaining. The hospital was almost invariably the prison of the estate; they were generally put into the stocks and allowed to lie on an inclined boarding, to prevent their taking too much exercise, he had been told; but the impression had always been made upon him, and upon the negroes also, that they were thus treated to make the hot-house as undesirable as possible. In the negroes' huts he had witnessed scenes of distress almost beyond conception. He had found old negroes in houses nearly falling over their heads, and their bodies almost eaten up by disease; and when he had inquired if their masters did not supply their wants, the answer was—"No, Massa, me done up; me ask for salt, me ask for salt, but massa never give salt;"—(their disease is usually scorbutic)—"me have nothing but what piceaninny bring to me." In the streets of Jamaica it was common to see old negroes begging, whose masters had had the benefit of their youth and strength.—Another instance of the nature of the system was the intolerable act of religious persecution by which the slaves were deprived of those blessings which alone could render their condition supportable. The negro in general was quiet, cowed, and dispirited by oppression: why then should he be restrained in his religious principles? But they all knew that the Missionaries had been persecuted to martyrdom, and Christianity had been compared to a cankerworm which would eat out the fruits of slavery. The Missionaries had been charged with seducing the negroes into dangerous notions of the rights of men, and with being disturbers of the peace, but the charge had been honourably disproved in the Courts of Law, and had fallen with double vengeance on the heads of their accusers. His brother Grimsdall, whose memory would ever be dear to him, had, however, sunk a victim to this persecution. He (Mr. Orton) was imprisoned in a gaol which had been pronounced unfit for negroes some years before, and the Marshall at his own risk had released him on his parole at the end of eleven days, from the fear that his life would be in danger. He applied for a *habeas corpus*, and was removed to Kingston, where the Chief Justice immediately said he was extremely

sorry that ~~he~~ had been placed in such a situation, and ordered him to be liberal. ~~and~~ the Magistrate who committed him was struck off the commission. Upon this the actions which had been commenced were given up, but the proceedings had cost the Missionary Society £400. ~~the case of~~ Mr. Grimsdall was similar to his own, and the result would have been the same if he had lived. Many of the negroes had been severely punished for attending the worship of God, and on complaint of the Magistrates had been sent to the workhouse, and flogged as they went in and coming out, as disaffected. Whilst confined in the ~~workhouse~~ ~~prison~~ they had witnessed barbarities beyond description, in the ~~workhouse~~ ~~prison~~, which it overlooked. The Governor of the House of Correction ~~had~~ ~~seen~~ over and watched with the greatest indifference the conduct of the negroes. Night and day the crack of the whip was cutting ~~the~~ ~~air~~. During the ten days of his confinement he (Mr. O.) constantly ~~heard~~ ~~heard~~. One poor woman he saw laid on her stomach, with two men holding her arms, and a third her head, whilst another herculean fellow was ~~striking~~ ~~striking~~ her naked body. Such occurrences as these ought to cause ~~regret~~ ~~regret~~, and called upon them to use every lawful means to cause ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the very speedy and utter abolition of slavery. After to account ~~for~~ ~~for~~, it would be preposterous to compare the condition what he ~~had~~ ~~had~~ with that of the peasantry of this country. He admitted of the slaves ~~being~~ ~~being~~ well treated, but was this a reason for suffering the that a ~~slave~~ ~~slave~~ to remain in their present condition? In the last few vast numbers ~~of~~ ~~of~~ travelled through this kingdom, and he lamented to see months ~~of~~ ~~of~~ the English poor. But any attempt to compare the worst the distressed peasantry with the worst treated slaves, must be grounded on profound ignorance or incurable prejudice. Admitting however, (for ~~the~~ ~~the~~ sake of argument) that their sufferings were equally great, was it a reason for keeping our fellow creatures in bondage—for refusing to it a ~~relief~~ ~~relief~~ for the relief of distress at a distance, because there besting ~~at~~ ~~at~~ home? Ought we not rather to believe that Providence ~~had~~ ~~had~~ power the affairs of all nations were regulated had denoted ~~the~~ ~~the~~ distress in our own country, as a just judgment for our permitting ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the oppression of the negroes? And might not our indifference ~~be~~ ~~be~~ all us—"We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in conscience ~~with~~ ~~with~~ the anguish of his soul, when he besought us and we would that we ~~had~~ ~~had~~ not heard ~~of~~ ~~of~~ him."

Here ~~at~~ ~~at~~ the present we must stop, although a large number of Anti-Slavery ~~petitions~~ ~~petitions~~ still remain to be noticed. To these we shall endeavour to ~~present~~ ~~present~~ in an early number.

## II.—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS.

FROM the 17th of November to December 23d, inclusive, eleven hundred and twenty-five petitions for the early and entire abolition of slavery were presented to the House of Commons. From the Colonial ~~session~~ ~~session~~ of the session to the Christmas recess, the whole number committed ~~to~~ ~~to~~ was three thousand, two hundred and fourteen. A very large present ~~number~~ ~~number~~, it is believed, will still be presented before the discussion of the question, in pursuance of the notice given by Mr. Buxton, for the 1st of March.

## III. DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES.

*In aid of the Funds of the Anti-Slavery Society, from November 4, to December 31, 1830.\**

|  | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| Edinburgh Association - - - - - (payment)                          | 21 | 12 | 0  |
| Hull Association - - - - - (payment)                               | 8  | 8  | 0  |
| Mr. Henry Tylor - - - - - (annual)                                 | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Mr. H. M'Farlane, Paisley - - - - - (donation)                     | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| G. W. Alexander, Esq. - - - - - (annual)                           | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Melksham Association - - - - - (donation)                          | 20 | 0  | 0  |
| J. P. Davis, Esq. Tredegar Works - - - - - (annual)                | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Mr. J. Ross, Chatteris - - - - - (payment)                         | 1  | 10 | 0  |
| Richard Poole, Esq. Gray's Inn Square - - - - - (donation)         | 10 | 0  | 0  |
| Rev. Mr. Durrant, Poole - - - - - (ditto)                          | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Mr. W. Binns, Poole - - - - - (ditto)                              | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Mr. Richard Pinney - - - - - (ditto)                               | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Southwark Ladies' Association - - - - - (payment)                  | 6  | 14 | 3  |
| Mr. Bowley, Gloucester - - - - - (ditto)                           | 0  | 10 | 0  |
| Checkley, Croxdon, and Alveton, Staffordshire - - - - - (donation) | 3  | 5  | 0  |
| Truro Association - - - - - (payment)                              | 4  | 4  | 6  |
| Youghal Association - - - - - (ditto)                              | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| North East London Ladies' Association, by Mrs. Brightwen (ditto)   | 2  | 6  | 10 |
| Cork Association - - - - - (ditto)                                 | 10 | 0  | 0  |
| W. B. Hudson, Esq. - - - - - (donation)                            | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Margate Association - - - - - (payment)                            | 3  | 0  | 0  |
| Richardson Purvis, Esq. Sunbury - - - - - 2 years (annual)         | 10 | 10 | 0  |
| Mrs. Purvis, ditto - - - - - 2 ditto (ditto)                       | 6  | 6  | 0  |
| Miss Jane Purvis, ditto - - - - - 2 ditto (ditto)                  | 4  | 4  | 0  |
| Miss Elizabeth Purvis, ditto - - - - - 2 ditto (ditto)             | 4  | 4  | 0  |
| Miss Frances Purvis, ditto - - - - - (ditto)                       | 2  | 2  | 0  |
| Buckingham Association - - - - - (payment)                         | 5  | 11 | 0  |
| Colebrookdale Association - - - - - (donation)                     | 22 | 10 | 0  |
| Lewes (Sussex) Association - - - - - (payment)                     | 10 | 0  | 0  |
| Salisbury Ladies' Association - - - - - (donation)                 | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Mr. E. Suter - - - - - (annual)                                    | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Miss Buttrell, of Bellevue, by Miss Prideaux - - - - - (donation)  | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Rochester Ladies' Association - - - - - (payment)                  | 2  | 11 | 0  |
| Rev. W. B. Hayne - - - - - (annual)                                | 1  | 1  | 0  |
| Banbury Association - - - - - (payment)                            | 1  | 9  | 6  |
| Darlington Association - - - - - (ditto)                           | 7  | 18 | 0  |
| Ditto ditto - - - - - (donation)                                   | 12 | 2  | 0  |
| Liverpool Ladies' Association - - - - - (ditto)                    | 35 | 0  | 0  |
| J. M. Strachan, Esq. Teddington - - - - - (payment)                | 1  | 2  | 0  |
| J. Harford, Esq. Bristol - - - - - (payment)                       | 5  | 0  | 0  |
| Bath Association - - - - - (payment)                               | 20 | 0  | 0  |
| Southampton Association - - - - - (ditto)                          | 7  | 18 | 0  |
| York Ladies' Association - - - - - (ditto)                         | 2  | 6  | 0  |
| Anonymous from Banbury - - - - - (donation)                        | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| Mr. Jabez Stuterd, ditto - - - - - (annual)                        | 0  | 2  | 6  |
| Southwark Ladies' Association - - - - - (payment)                  | 1  | 16 | 6  |
| Beverley Ladies' Association - - - - - (ditto)                     | 5  | 8  | 6  |
| Ditto ditto - - - - - (donation)                                   | 4  | 11 | 6  |

\* This list does not contain the Subscriptions recently paid to the Society's Collector—which will, however, be entered as usual in the annual list of Subscriptions.



